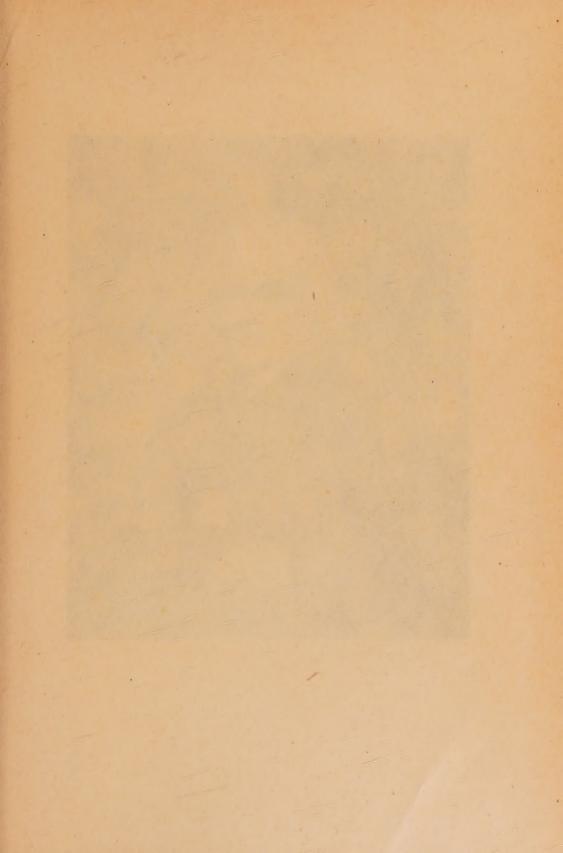


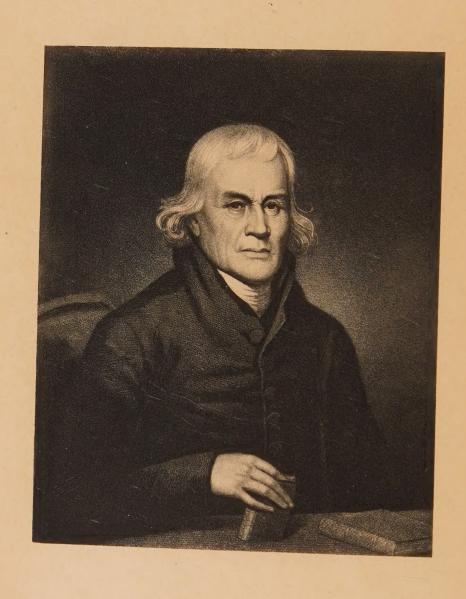
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THE HISTORY OF METHODISM

JOHN FLETCHES MERST, D.D., LL.D.

A Bishop at the Methodist Entscope; Church Chancellor of the American University Sometime President of the American Church filszory Society Author of "A History of The Christian Church," Etc., Etc.

Rev. Francis Asbury.

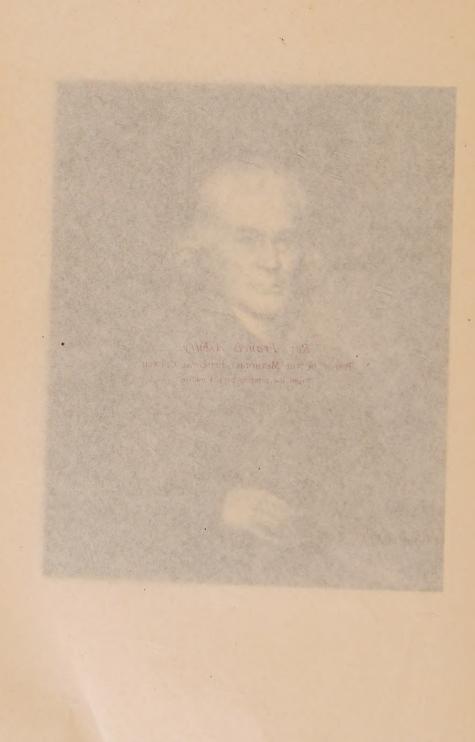
BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
From the painting by J. Paradise.

AMERICAN METHODISM



VOLUME THE SECOND

EATON & MALNS



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THE HISTORY OF METHODISM

BY

JOHN FLETCHER HURST, D.D., LL.D.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

CHAPTER		PAGE
XLVIII.	A PECULIAR PEOPLE	479
XLIX.	THE LARGER GATHERINGS	488
L.	THE GLEANINGS OF EIGHT YEARS	498
LI.	THE FAILURE OF THE COUNCIL	506
LII.	A GENERAL CONFERENCE	513
LIII.	FEASTS OF TABERNACLES	522
LIV.	CAMPS IN THE SOUTH AND EAST	530
LV.	THE WINNING OF THE WEST	5 39
LVI.	WESTERN CIRCUIT RIDERS	554
LVII.	IN THE NATCHEZ COUNTRY	570
LVIII.	Amphibious Circuits	580
LIX.	"LIFE'S WORK WELL DONE"	5 89
LX.	AN AMERICAN BISHOP	5 98
LXI.	AN ORIGINAL PAIR	606
LXII.	A BUNDLE OF ODD STICKS	615
LXIII.	WITH THE LAWMAKERS	626
LXIV.	Among the New Englanders	634
LXV.	A DELEGATED GENERAL CONFERENCE	645
LXVI.	GROWTH UNDER THE CONSTITUTION	655
LXVII.	THE WESTWARD MARCH—BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES.	667
LXVIII.	GROWTH IN THE CENTRAL STATES	681
LXIX.	Organized Missions	696
LXX.	GROWTH IN NEW ENGLAND	711
LXXI.	THE LAST DAYS OF ASBURY	721
LXXII.	GREAT PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH	730
LXXIII.	THE TRAINING OF THE PREACHER	737
LXXIV.	A Growing Literature	753
LXXV.	CLOSE OF KIN	77 I

Contents

CHAPTER	'n	PAGE
LXXVI.	SANCTIFIED ECCENTRICITY	782
LXXVII.	CARTWRIGHT HUMORS	792
LXXVIII.	ASBURY'S WORTHY SUCCESSOR, WILLIAM MCKENDREE.	. 800
LXXIX.	GLIMPSES OF HUMOR	806
LXXX.	THE HOMILETICAL BATTLE-AX	814
LXXXI.	THE ROMANCE OF OREGON	824
LXXXII.	FRIENDS FROM THE FATHERLAND	833
LXXXIII.	THE SONS OF ETHIOPIA	848
LXXXIV.	EDITORIAL LEADERS	857
LXXXV.	THE TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN	875
LXXXVI.	MULTIPLICATION BY DIVISION	886
LXXXVII.	GROWTH OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANTS	895
LXXXVIII.	METHODIST PROTESTANTS DIVIDE	902
LXXXIX.	LEADING ACTIVITIES OF METHODIST PROTESTANTS	907
XC.	MASTERFUL PREACHERS	915
XCI.	THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF METHODISM	923
XCII.	THE GREAT DIVISION	931
XCIII.	THE SOUTHERN HOST	939
XCIV.	FRICTION FOLLOWING FRACTION	948
XCV.	DIVIDING THE PROPERTY	954

iv

ILLUSTRATIONS

PHOTOGRAVURES

Francis Asbury Frontis	3
THOMAS COKE, D.C.LFacing	PAGE 580
EZEKIEL COOPER Facing	615
NATHAN BANGS Facing	753
WILLIAM NAST Facing	833
	95
THE AARON SANFORD HOUSE, REDDING, CONN	480
OLD EBENEZER CHURCH, SOUTHWARK, PHILADELPHIA	
OLD TOBACCO HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.	
THE OLD BOEHM CHAPEL, LANCASTER COUNTY, PA	486
JAMES STERLING	
MRS. CATHARINE GARRETTSON	494
METHODIST LANDMARKS IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y	
THE SEAT OF THE EARLY GENERAL CONFERENCES IN BALTIMORE.	516
THE TYPICAL AMERICAN STAGECOACH	518
THE WESLEY CLOCK, JOHN STREET CHURCH, NEW YORK	520
OLD CAMP GROUND, GRAVE OF VALENTINE COOK	523
REV. JAMES HORTON	525
AN OLD-TIME CAMP MEETING	
Wanda Church	2
THE CAMP GROUND	200
A POPULAR CAMP MEETING HYMNAL	535
CAMP MEETING HYMNS	
FRANCIS McCormick	
GRAVE OF McCORMICK	541
JUDGE THOMAS SCOTT	542
Governor Tiffin	
Ruins of the First Methodist Meetinghouse in Ohio	243
OLD LOG CHURCH NEAR CHARLESTOWN, IND., ERECTED 1808	
THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN ILLINOIS	551
OLD FRENCH FORT AT ST. LOUIS. MO	552
THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN MICHIGAN	553
REV. WILLIAM BURKE	556
Mrs. Jane Allen Trimble	560
REV. JOHN COLLINS	
REV. DAVID YOUNG	
REV. JOHN SALE'S COMMISSION AS ELDER	566
REV. JAMES QUINN.	567
REV. HENRY SMITH	
REV. WILLIAM WINANS, D.D	585
RICHARD WHATCOAT	592
WILLIAM MCKENDREE	594 601
WILLIAM MICKENDREE	201

Illustrations

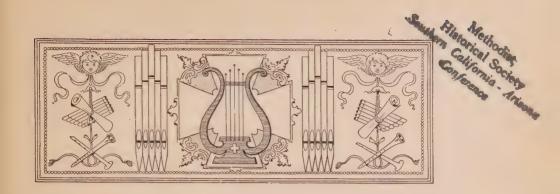
· ·	PAGE
EARLY TRAILS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY	604
MCKENDREE CHAPEL, NEAR JACKSON, CAPE GIRARDEAU CO., MO.	605
Lorenzo Dow	607
Peggy Dow	610
LORENZO DOW'S POETRY	612
PEGGY DOW'S HYMNAL	613
BILLY HIBBARD AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-FOUR	616
JACOB GRUBER	619
VALENTINE COOK	622
JAMES JENKINS	625
THE SIX ORIGINAL ANNUAL CONFERENCES	
OLD READFIELD MEETINGHOUSE	635
REV. JOSHUA TAYLOR	
REV. GEORGE PICKERING	640
RESIDENCE OF REV. GEORGE PICKERING	642
REV. DANIEL OSTRANDER	643
REV. THOMAS WARE	
REV. EZEKIEL COOPER	
GRAVE OF REV. THOMAS WARE	
ROBERT RICHFORD ROBERTS	
BISHOP ROBERTS'S CABIN	
Joshua Soule Elijah Hedding	
Campus Martius, Marietta, O	668
VIEW OF CINCINNATI IN 1810.	670
HARRISON HOUSE, VINCENNES, IND	
FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, CHILLICOTHE, O., 1807	674
IAMES B. FINLEY	
ALFRED BRUNSON.	
REV. RUSSELL BIGELOW.	
OLD EBENEZER CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1811	
THE SECOND METHODIST CHURCH IN JOHN STREET, NEW YORK	683
DUANE STREET CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, NEW YORK, 1797	685
GREEN HILL'S HOUSE.	
Peter P. Sanford.	
PHINEAS RICE	690
Nathan Bangs, D.D	691
JOHN EMORY.	694
OLD WYANDOT MISSION HOUSE, 1886	697
" RESTORED	698
J. B. FINLEY PREACHING TO THE WYANDOTS	
CHARLES PITMAN, D.D	702
JOHN P. DURBIN, D.D	704
Thomas M. Eddy, D.D	706
CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY	
ADNA B. LEONARD, D.D., HENRY K. CARROLL, LL.D	
THE BOARD ROOM OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY	
A SESSION OF THE OLD NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE	7
OLIVER BEALE	717
THE WILL OF FRANCIS ASBURY	
EUTAW STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE	
Grave of Asbury	720

Illustrations

The state of the s	PAGE
THE OLD LUCAS HOUSE, NEAR SPARTA, GA	731
THE OLD WESLEY CHAPEL, SAVANNAH, GA	735
BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY	728
LIBRARY OF THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY, BOSTON UNIVERSITY	730
LOUN TEMPORED 11)	139
JOHN DEMPSTER, D.D.	741
Mrs. Eliza Clark Garrett	744
MEMORIAL HALL, GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE	746
DANIEL DREW, Esq	747
DREW SEMINARY BUILDINGS.	7.10
CORNELL LIBRARY BUILDING, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY	750
INTERIOR OF CORNELL LIBRARY, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY	
INTERIOR OF CORNELL LIBRARY, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY	1 0
THE HOMES OF THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN IN NEW YORK	755
GEORGE LANE, LEVI SCOTT	757
THOMAS CARLTON, D.D., JAMES PORTER, D.D	758
REUBEN NELSON, D.D., CHARLES B. TIPPETT	759
JOHN MILTON PHILLIPS, SANDFORD HUNT, D.D	760
HOMER EATON, D.D., GEORGE P. MAINS, D.D	761
MARTIN RUTER, D.D.	762
BOOK CONCERN BUILDINGS	763
JOHN F. WRIGHT, LEROY SWORMSTEDT	765
JOHN THOMAS MITCHELL	766
ADAM POE, D.D., LUKE HITCHCOCK, D.D	767
EARL CRANSTON, D.D., LEWIS CURTS, D.D	768
HENRY C. JENNINGS, D.D., SAMUEL H. PYE	769
REV. WILLIAM P. STOWE, D.D.	
	770
JACOB ALBRIGHT	772
JACOB ALBRIGHT'S BIRTHPLACE	773
JOHN SEYBERT	
JOSEPH LONG	775
BISHOPS OF THE UNITED BRETHREN, 1900	777
MARTIN BOEHM	779
PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE UNITED BRETHREN, DAYTON, O	781
PETER CARTWRIGHT	785
PETER CARTWRIGHT.	
FATHER TAYLOR, THE SAILOR PREACHER	
SEAMEN'S BETHEL CHAPEL, BOSTON	791
THE ITINERANT	795
THE TOMB OF BISHOP MCKENDREE, NASHVILLE, TENN	804
JOSHUA WELLS	810
THE FIRST OREGON APPLE TREE	826
GRAVES OF THE OREGON PIONEERS OF 1834	
FORT VANCOUVER	
THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST	029 80x
THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST	831
THE OREGON INSTITUTE	832
WILLIAM NAST	
ADAM MILLER, JOHN SCHWAHLEN GERMAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHEELING, W. VA	838
GERMAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHEELING, W. VA	839
HENRY KOENEKE, LUDWIG S. JACOBY, D.D	841
JACOB ROTHWEILER, D.D	
GERMAN EDITORS	8.12
CERNAN EDITORS ORDINAN HOME PERE	845
GERMAN METHODIST ORPHAN HOME, BEREA, O	045
GERMAN DEACONESS "MOTHER HOUSE" AND BETHESDA HOSPITAL.	840
RICHARD ALLEN	849
Morris Brown	851

Illustrations

EDWARD WATERS	8
WILLIAM PAUL OUINN	8
WILLIS NAZREY	8
THE METHODIST MAGAZINE	8
THE FIRST NUMBER OF "ZION'S HERALD". THE FIRST NUMBER OF "THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE"	8
THE FIRST NUMBER OF "THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE"	8
Samuel Luckey	8
THOMAS E. BOND. M.D	8
George Peck	8
DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.,	8
JAMES MONROE BUCKLEY, D.D., LL.D	8
EDITORS OF THE "METHODIST REVIEW"	8
Samuel Williams	8
Editors, 1900–1904	8
W. C. LARRABEE, D.D	8
CHARLES PARKHURST, D.D., JAMES H. POTTS, D.D	8
DANIEL WISE, D.D., LL.D	8
SECRETARIES OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION AND TRACT SOCIETY	8
JOHN HEYL VINCENT, D.D., LL.D	8
THE SEVENTEEN SUNDAY SCHOOL PERIODICALS, 1901	8
THE WESLEYAN REPOSITORY	
THE MUTUAL RIGHTS	8
THE HISTORY AND MYSTERY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPACY	
NICHOLAS SNETHEN	8
WILLIAM S. STOCKTON	Š
ASA SHINN	8
THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON, D.D	8
D. B. DORSEY, M.D., J. S. REESE, M.D., GEORGE BROWN, D.D	8
FIRST METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH, PITTSBURG, PA	9
John J. Murray. E. T. Tagg, D.D.	
Governor Francis H. Pierpont	-
Benefactors of Kansas City University	9
Educational Buildings (Methodist Protestant)	9
Rev. John Summerfield, A.M	
SUMMERFIELD MEMORIAL	
BISHOP BASCOM'S MONUMENT	9
George G. Cookman	9
THE CHURCH, NEW ATHENS, O., IN WHICH MATTHEW SIMPSON	>
PREACHED HIS FIRST SERMON	
GREENE STREET CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.	
James Osgood Andrew.	
WILLIAM A. SMITH, D.D	C
PETER AKERS, D.D.	Ç
LEONIDAS LENT HAMLINE. D.D	2
CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D	0
EDMUND STORER JANES	0
MICHAEL MARLAY, D.D.	9
Michael Marlay, D.D. Union Street Church, Petersburg, Va.	0
JOHN EARLY	C
LOVICK PIERCE, M.D.	C
Presidence on the Lower Proper Considers Co	1



CHAPTER XLVIII

A Peculiar People

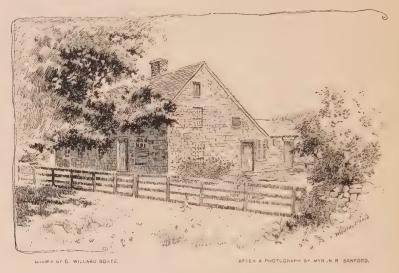
THE PREACHERS: UNSCHOOLED, UNSETTLED, UNSALARIED.—NO USE FOR WESLEY'S "SUNDAY SERVICE."—INFORMALITY.—PLAIN MEETING-HOUSES.—PREACHING WITHOUT NOTES.—JESSE LEE'S READY WIT.

THE first race of American Methodists were indeed a peculiar people. They were distinguished from the Christians of all other denominations by differences scarcely less marked than those which separated them from "the world" which they so emphatically renounced. Their ecclesiastical system, the personnel of their ministers, the number and variety of their religious services, their manners and even dress—and, above all, the spirit of enthusiastic devotion which characterized the entire movement—all these were new and strange in America, and in some sections provoked comment, ridicule, and even bitter obloquy.

To the scholarly settled ministry of the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches the Methodists opposed their itinerant legion, perhaps the most remarkable agency ever devised for spreading the Gospel. The preachers themselves were notable apart from the system. If it is true that few of them had enjoyed opportunities of education, it is no less true that many of them regretted their own deficiencies, and not only did their best

by reading and study to make them good, but made costly sacrifices to secure a better training for the next Methodist generation.

The Methodists of that day faced an emergency and lacked the time and the means to give thorough training to the young men who must be thrust out into the continental harvest field. Other denominations hesitated. Some de-



THE AARON SANFORD HOUSE, REDDING, CONN.

This was one of the first New England dwellings which was enlarged so as to accommodate the Methodist meetings.

cided for a liberally educated ministry and set about to provide the means, but Methodism, in her zeal for souls, was unwilling to withhold her parchments from any young man who to full assurance of his own salvation added convincing proofs that his preaching resulted in the conversion of souls. Books and schools might have given these men polish, they could scarcely have fitted them more perfectly for their task and the times. Sprung from the plain people,

no book but the Bible could tell them more than they already knew of the way to the human heart. There were men among them of commanding ability, orators of surpassing eloquence, men of superb executive talent, and gentlemen in homespun whose native refinement and social graces conciliated the favor of the most fastidious.

The Methodist minister was called to preach, not as yet to be a pastor. Instead of serving a parish of a few square miles, with a steepled church or meetinghouse in the middle of it and a snug manse or parsonage nestling beside it, the houseless itinerant literally "traveled" a two or three weeks circuit of perhaps a score of appointments, scattered, it might be, along a line of a hundred miles. He preached daily. On the first round of a new circuit the curious ministers might admit him to their pulpits, or the town fathers to the public halls, but as soon as his mission was understood and his doctrines declared such doors were closed against him, and he must depend upon taverns, barns, and private houses for an audience room. Old dwellings are still pointed out in the Eastern States which sheltered the Methodist preaching before the feeble societies mustered strength to build their little square frame churches. The itinerant was dependent upon the societies for board and lodging for himself and his horse, and as his visits became more regular the members strove among themselves for the privilege of entertaining him. These visits left a deep impression, especially upon the young, for the good man never left the house without speaking on the subject of personal religion to each member of the household and praying with the family.

In the new countries, where Methodism promptly followed the rushing tide of immigration, the lot of the itinerant was still less enviable. Circuits were longer and the roads incomparably worse. To the hardships of frontier life were added the perils of travel and the discomforts and disheartenings of separation from kindred and friends. Scores of pioneer preachers succumbed to fevers and consumptions brought on by exposure among the mountains or among the malarial swamps of the "Western Waters."

General superintendency and an itinerant ministry were the



OLD EBENEZER CHURCH, SOUTHWARK, PHILADELPHIA.

One of the early city chapels erected by the Methodists.

prime peculiarities of the Methodist ecclesiastical system. The societies which formed the Methodist Episcopal Church received their preachers by the appointment of a bishop, who exercised equal pastoral care throughout the entire connection. Each year the preachers of the several districts met in Conference with the bishop and were assigned to their stations. Some were changed every quarter. Few remained more than a year on the same circuit, though the pastoral term of two years was not fixed by law until 1804.

It was this system that enabled that master strategist, Asbury, to select the great Virginian, Lee, for the invasion of New England; to send Garrettson, the forceful Marylander, with his band of young evangelists, up the Hudson; and to commission the great-hearted captains who carried Methodism to the pioneer communities west of the mountains,

Souls were the only hire the itinerant sought. To preach for pay struck him as scandalous, whether in a fox-hunting Southern clergyman or among the frugal ministers of the North. No more would they take fees for officiating at weddings and burials. Salaries they had none, though each traveling preacher, from the bishop and presiding elders to the youngest helper, was entitled to his quarterage—an allowance of \$64 a year raised by collections taken in the societies. Special provision was made for exceptional cases, where the preacher, being a married man, had a dependent wife and children. It was customary for a preacher to withdraw from the Conference upon his marriage, though many of them continued to do noble work in the local ministry.

The local preachers fill less space in the histories than their brethren of the traveling ministry. They were men who by reason of age, family connections, or other encumbrances were debarred from the wider range of the itinerancy, though they had the same call to preach and could show proofs of "gifts, grace, and usefulness." The history of many a noble society, indeed the origin of whole Conferences is to be traced to the humble labors of some local preacher who turned aside amid the dust and toil of life to preach the Gospel without earthly honor or reward. Their record is on high, and with it are written the names of exhorters and class leaders without number—men and women

of humble life, rude manners and plain speech, who will inherit the immortal rewards of those who turn many to righteousness.

The religious services of Methodism differed as widely from the ritualism of the Anglican Church as from the order of other communions. The Sunday Service for Methodists, which the Christmas Conference had adopted on Wesley's



OLD TOBACCO HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C. Used by the Methodists for preaching, 1807-1811.

prescription, and which was his abbreviation of the noble Book of Common Prayer, soon fell into disuse. Some of the strongest men in the new Church resisted the adoption of the Anglican ritual and vestments, and after a few years even the bishops

discarded gown and bands, and the most conservative gave over the reading of the prayers. Copies of The Sunday Service have become a rarity for collectors, and the ritual has dwindled to the present brief forms.

Informality was the characteristic of Methodist religious exercises. The spirit of the worshiper was everything, the form nothing. A roadside stump, the judge's stand at a race track, the steps of a courthouse, a table in a city square, a tavern taproom, a barn, a schoolhouse, town hall, meetinghouse, church—any place from which he could

address an audience—was pulpit enough for the traveling evangelist.

The typical Methodist meetinghouse was severely plain without and within. There was no steeple, no bell, no belfry, no organ or choir loft. Uncushioned benches stood on a bare or sanded floor, seats were free as air, and the preachers looked upon the sale or rental of pews as a wile of the devil.

The stated religious services of a typical Methodist church, as given by a preacher in 1787, were: Preaching, Sunday morning, afternoon, and evening; prayer meeting, Tuesday evening; preaching, Thursday evening; and class meetings, Friday evening. The society at large was met by the preacher on Sunday before morning sermon. There were also band and class meetings on Monday and Wednesday evenings.

Nothing which the early Methodists did attracted such attention as their habit of preaching without notes. In the South, where the Established churches used the ritual, the people were surprised to hear the preachers pray without the book, and in the North, where sermons were invariably written and read, the easy eloquence of Lee and his helpers was the sensation of the hour.

An amusing story is told of two Boston lawyers who overtook Jesse Lee on the road and, reining their horses on either side of the Methodist, began to quiz him on his extempore speech.

"What if you make mistakes," they asked; "do you let them go?"

"Sometimes I do," was the shrewd reply. "If they are very important, I correct them; if not, or if they express the truth, though differently from my design, I often let them

go. For instance, if I should wish to say 'The devil is a liar and the father of it,' and should slip, and say he is a 'lawyer,' why, it is so near the truth that I should probably let it pass."

"Humph," said one, "I do not know whether you are more knave or fool!"

"Neither, gentlemen," came the pointed reply; "I believe I am just between the two."

The lawyers rode away, not caring for a further specimen of the preacher's readiness of wit.

Another incident of the campaign in New England relates



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

THE OLD BOEHM CHAPEL, LANCASTER CO., PA.

A country chapel, built 1791, from a plan said to have been furnished by

Bishop Whatcoat,

that on one occasion the parish minister challenged the itinerant to show his power by preaching from a text which should be given him as he entered the preaching place. The minister, aiming at his discomfiture, selected the words, "And Baalam saddled his ass." His plot recoiled upon his own head, however, for the Methodist proceeded to treat the text

under three heads: 1. Baalam, typical of the hireling priests of the parish churches; 2. The saddle, signifying the burdensome tax laid for the support of the unspiritual churches; and 3. The ass, representing the people who were so stupid as to contribute to the support of ministers who gave no evidence of having been divinely called to preach.

This man's power of extemporization was never again disputed in that community.

Personal religion was the itinerant's invariable theme. At the close of the sermon there might be a brief exhortation, followed by a statement of the conditions of membership and an invitation to join on probation. The prayer and class meetings and the love feasts were prime novelties, and much spoken against by those who thought that women should keep silence in the churches.



CHAPTER XLIX

The Larger Gatherings

Intense Feeling.—The Quarterly Meetings.—Strange Scenes.— Love Feasts.—The German's Testimony.—The Baltimore Revival of 1789.—Rule on Dress.

THE intensity of feeling displayed in the Methodist gatherings ran highest at the quarterly meetings, in which the members and preachers of one or more circuits participated. Ezekiel Cooper describes such meetings on the Trenton, N. J., Circuit in 1787-1788. A number of preachers would take part—one preaching, the others exhorting. The principal Methodist laymen threw open their houses to the visitors. On Sunday "love feast began between nine and ten o'clock; then the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered; public preaching began after twelve. We had a glorious time, especially in the close of our meeting. The power of the Lord came down. . . . All ranks appear to be in tears; many were overcome in such a manner that they could scarcely stand; some found Jesus, one man crying out to the congregation to help him to praise the Lord, for he had found him whom his soul loved. This increased the flame, and it ran through the house as fire among stubble.

Soon as he ceased a boy of about sixteen years broke out in prayer, after which we concluded."

The next quarterly meeting on the same circuit had features of its own. Fifty laymen and preachers from other parts of the circuit rode into town in a body. On Sunday morning, from seven to nine, the circuit preacher met the local preachers, exhorters, and class leaders, to examine them and renew the notes of the preachers and exhorters. Then the members entered, and the Communion and love feast ensued until noon, when the doors were thrown open to the public, and the windows flung up that the curious throng might see and hear. Sermon, exhortation, hymn, and prayer held the audience until four o'clock.

Strange scenes were sometimes enacted at these times. One Sunday the early love feast had deeply moved the members' hearts. When the doors were opened for the public a funeral service took place. After the interment two young people were joined in wedlock. "I think the most solemn wedding I ever saw," says a spectator. Other sermons and exhortations brought the short February Sabbath to a close.

The Rev. Thomas Ware was present at a love feast in east Jersey. It was held in a barn early in the morning. All that had obtained peace with God, and all who were seeking it, were invited. The circuit preacher, George Mair, explained the nature and design of the service, namely, "To partake of bread and water—not as a sacrament, but in token of our Christian love, in imitation of a primitive usage—and then humbly and briefly to declare the great things the Lord had done for them in having had mercy on them."

The first speaker was James Sterling, of Burlington, N. J., the leading Methodist layman in the State. After he had given his testimony one of the new converts arose. He had been standing at his door, he said, when a horseman turned into his yard and hailed him with the odd inquiry, "Pray, sir, can you tell me the way to heaven?" To his shuffling



FROM T. B WELCH'S ENGRAVING AFTER THE ORIGINAL DRAWING.

JAMES STERLING.

answer the stranger said, "Ah, but I want to know the best way." Invited to enter the house, the itinerant, for such was the horseman, had talked so impressively of the way that the household had been awakened and had found Christ. This story was punctuated with shouts of "glory!" from

other worshipers, and when his utterance was finally choked by tears all wept with him.

But it was the white-haired German whose words went to the heart, as in faltering English he narrated how the preacher had brought the Gospel into his family: "Joost as de day did preak mine heart did preak, an' de tears did run so fast; joost den mein oldest daughter did come in and did fall on my neck, and said, 'O mein fader, Jesus has plessed me!" And den joy did come into mein heart, and we haf gone on rejoicing in de Lord ever since. Great fear did fall on my neighbors, an' my barn would not hold all de peoples dat does come to learn de way to heaven!"

One who had been brought to the verge of suicide by the doctrine of reprobation then told his story. Standing on the skirts of a crowd, he had heard the Methodist proclamation of free grace. For the first time he understood that the cause of his wretchedness was guilt, from which Jesus came to save. And as the good tidings flashed into his heart he swung his hat in the air and began to cheer with all his might. The preacher saw his wet cheeks, and, smiling, said, "Young man, thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven." And he had now found the peace so long desired. After a few other such testimonies had brought the assemblage to a high pitch a general cry arose, and the doors were opened that all might enter and see the power of the Spirit.

Cooper's account of the Baltimore revival of 1789 is characteristic of the times. At the close of the Conference of the previous year in that city there had been a "noisy, powerful meeting," which had not only stirred up the enemies of Methodism, but had offended friends who thought such "confusion insufferable in places of divine worship." Cooper, the circuit preacher, labored faithfully through the ensuing

winter with little encouragement until February, when men and women began to flock to the altar, and the meetings reechoed "with penitential cries and shouts of praise." Brethren from neighboring circuits came to help. A "most glorious and awful" watch night service yielded over thirty converts. Citizens flocked to witness "the Methodistical rant and enthusiastic madness." Thousands crowded the church, and choked the street before it, while men and women were "struggling into or after peace and pardon."

Five or six sermons a week, daily class meetings, and continual visitation upon the awakened ones taxed the preacher's strength until at night he could hardly stand. "Poor sinners could scarcely walk the streets without being accosted by the sound of prayer, singing, or exhortation," so numerous were the neighborhood prayer meetings. The excitement culminated at the quarterly meeting in midsummer. The Sunday morning love feast was marked by a "glowing and melting among the people. . . . There seemed to flow words of fire from every mouth, while one after another, full of rapture and love, arose and humbly declared the goodness of God to his or her soul." The public preaching moved many to tears, and at night some found light and pardon. Far into the night the work went on, and next morning the city was in an uproar, as from one house and another came the shouts and rejoicings of "mourners" and their happy friends. In one precinct the fire bells rang, but "Behold, it was the fire of religion and divine love which had kindled." Toward evening Cooper mounted a table in front of one of these homes of ecstasy and preached. The joyful cries from within joined with his words to solemnize his congregation. and at nightfall the entire company walked in procession to the church—the preacher and his helpers followed by the weeping mourners, while curious crowds hovered about them and filled the little building to suffocation. Until long after midnight the remarkable scenes continued. "Some were two or three hours in constant agony under the burden of their guilt, some on their knees, others prostrate on the floor, others in the arms of their friends; all bitterly crying to God for mercy. When such distressed souls found rest who could refrain from feeling joy? As those deliverances were frequent, peal after peal of shouting praise ascended to the great Redeemer."

For three days there was little interruption in these occurrences. "Religion became the common topic of conversation through town. You could scarcely enter a shop, walk the street or market, but that you heard the people on the subject of our shouting meetings. . . Some railed, others were afraid, while others approved." Some enviously declared, "At this rate the Methodists will get all the people." Cooper says that four or five hundred joined society, about two hundred of them being young people. Many children were seriously interested, and little boys and girls praised the Lord and gave their religious experience, to the wonder of those that heard.

At this time, and for a generation afterward, men and women sat apart in Methodist churches. Separate doors admitted them, and a middle aisle or partition marked the line of division. Both sexes met in the same class. Carpets and cushions were excluded, as savoring of the world, and gilt-edged Bibles and hymnals were under the same ban.

Though the Methodists never affected a uniform dress, yet their studied simplicity showed itself in the material and cut of their apparel. Long after the modes had changed, and changed again, the first race of Methodists continued to wear the peculiar coats and white neckcloths of their fathers, and the faces of the sisters looked out from plain little drab or



ENGRAVED BY J. C. BUTTRE

MRS. CATHARINE GARRETTSON.

The daughter of Robert R, Livingston and sister of Chancellor Livingston. The wife of Rev. Freeborn Garrettson.

black silk bonnets, guiltless of feather, flower, or furbelow. The matter of luxury in dress had lain heavily on Wesley's mind, and his ideas were engrafted on the Discipline of the American Church. "Give no tickets," ran the admonition, "to any till they have left off superfluous ornaments. In order to this: 1. Let every assistant (preacher) read the 'Thoughts on Dress' at least once a year in every large society. 2. In visiting the classes, be very mild but very strict. 3. Allow no exempt case, not even of a married woman. Better one suffer than many. 4. Give no ticket to any that wear high heads, enormous bonnets, ruffles, or rings." The result was that gayly dressed persons were cautious about getting within range of the plain-spoken preachers. Women whose shawls were fringed cut off the fringes and hemmed the shawls, by order of the presiding elder; Hammett, the seditious preacher in South Carolina, courted popularity by allowing his people to follow the fashions; the red velvet cap and ruffled cuffs of William Lupton, the John Street magnate, were an offense to his fellow-members; an army officer converted under Philip Gatch's ministry felt constrained to cut off his queue and the ruffles from his shirt bosom. Similar instances might be multiplied without end.

The simplicity of outward garb but expressed the "other worldliness" which ruled the life of this people. Their preachers denounced unsparingly, and they consistently refrained from, the forms of amusement on which the worlhad laid its coarse hand. Indulgence in theater-going, horse racing, dancing, and all forms of gambling were forbidden.

The first edition of the Discipline emphatically forbade the preachers to drink spirituous liquors, and, though the temperance movement was then in its infancy, the Philadelphia Conference of 1788 listened eagerly to Drs. Rush and Clarkson as they declared that spirituous liquors "were the great-

est poison to body and soul of anything we had in our land." From the earliest times this noble reform has had no more active and efficient ally than the Methodist preacher.

Insistence upon family prayer, open protest against profanity and Sabbath breaking, opposition to marriage with "unawakened persons," fearless denunciation of immoralities, public and private, were other worthy peculiarities of the fathers. The early editions of the Discipline were outspoken against slavery, and the early records mention converts who let their slaves go free, and preachers, like Coke and Cooper, who proclaimed liberty to the captive.

With all their self-denials the Methodists were no ascetics. The joyousness of their religion was one of its chief characteristics. Not only were their minds convinced, but their hearts were engaged, and they loved as brethren. When Ezekiel Cooper was transferred from Virginia to South Carolina, in 1791, some of his members came to bid him good-bye, but they "were too full to speak, so with hearts full and eyes full [we] turned our backs and parted." He had been their pastor but fifteen months. Again: Rev. Billy Hibbard's wife was a Calvinist, and had vowed never to be other. One night she went to a Methodist prayer meeting. "How did you enjoy it?" asked her husband. No answer. He repeated his question, with no better result, and, looking up, saw that she could not speak for tears. "O how they love one another!" she sobbed; "I never saw such love in all my life."

What were the pillar and ground of this great system,

[&]quot;My dear," said the delighted convert, "that is our religion."

[&]quot;Well," said she, quite conquered, "I believe it is a good religion, for I never saw such love among any people before."

which was established simultaneously with the American republic? Let Ezekiel Cooper, one of its greatest champions, tell:

"Methodism! What is that? Why, most generally the doctrine of free will and of free grace to and for all who will accept the offers of mercy, together with the doctrine of faith and good works—that is, practical and experimental religion—by a perseverance in holiness of heart and life to the end, is now called Methodism. May the Lord prosper it everywhere!"



CHAPTER L

The Gleanings of Eight Years

Wesley's Plan for Nova Scotia and the West Indies.—American Methodism has Other Work for Garrettson.—Labors along Hudson River. — Back Settlements. — Revivals. — Sunday Schools.

ESLEY had a plan to make Garrettson superintendent of the missions in Nova Scotia and the West Indies; but the American Conference thought otherwise, and the plan failed. Hence Garrettson's fine executive talents were at once made available for the home field. In 1788 a corps of nine young preachers—Peter Moriarty, Albert Van Nostrand, Cornelius Cook, Andrew Harpending, Darius Dunham, Samuel J. Talbot, David Kendall, Lemuel Smith, and Samuel Wigton-was placed under Garrettson's orders, with instructions to introduce Methodism along the course of the Hudson River. Cheered by a panoramic vision of his extensive district, he sent his preachers in full faith to their unformed circuits, promising to come and hold their quarterly meetings. "Satan and his children were much alarmed," he tells us in his vivacious Journal, "and began to threaten us. Some said, 'They are good men;' others said, 'Nay, they are deceivers of the

people.'" The preachers appeared simultaneously and without warning. Some asserted that they were emissaries of King George fomenting another war. Others saw in them the specious false prophets of Scripture who were to come in the last days. But the revivals which rewarded their preaching left no doubt of their aim and their success. Very soon Methodist sermons were heard in a hundred new preaching places, and the presiding elder must travel a thousand miles from New York to make his tour of the circuits which his young men had created out of nothing in the Hudson valley and in the western townships of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

A double result of this systematic evangelization was noticed. First, ministers and people of the other denominations were stirred up to warmer zeal: "You Methodists drive more to other churches than you draw to your own," said an unfriendly critic. Second, as Garrettson observed, back settlements that could not support a settled minister "may now hear a sermon at least once in two weeks."

In 1788 the country circuits on this district were New Rochelle, Dutchess, Shoreham, New City, Cambridge, and Lake Champlain. In 1789, Columbia, "Coeyman's Patent," "Standford," and "Schenectady" were added, and Shoreham disappeared. In 1790 New Lebanon, Albany, and Litchfield are the new names. Saratoga and Otsego appear in 1791, Pittsfield and the Canada Circuits in 1792. The five years' campaign under Garrettson had yielded two thousand five hundred members of the Church, had entered the Mohawk valley, reached the head waters of the Susquehanna, and crossed the St. Lawrence. His preachers even penetrated to the fair vale of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, where Anning Owens, a good blacksmith, had gathered a class as

early as 1788. In 1791 "Wyoming" became an appointment, with James Campbell for its first preacher. In the same year the Northumberland valley was reached, and by the end of this period there were few settled portions of



METHODIST LANDMARKS IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

The house where the New Rochelle society was formed, the second or third oldest in New York State.

The old Methodist church (now a barn), upper New Rochelle,

Pennsylvania to which the Methodist preachers did not regularly come.

The Pennsylvania settlements west of the mountains had received the Methodists early. Local preachers, as usual, head the van, Robert Wooster, an English Methodist, having preached in Fayette and Washington Counties, in the southwestern angle of the State, as early as 1781. On July 22–

24, 1788, Bishop Asbury held the first Conference of this section at Uniontown. Seven members of Conference and five probationers were present. The location of this region, at the head of the Ohio valley, made it a recruiting ground for the preachers who were to spread the peculiar doctrines of Methodism over the then undeveloped West.

As the bishop went from Conference to Conference—the three of 1785 had risen to twenty in the ecclesiastical year 1792-93—he had brought to the brethren letters and firsthand reports from all parts of the connection. In the absence of denominational newspapers, and, indeed, of religious intelligence in the secular journals, Asbury's budget of Church news was eagerly awaited. How greedy must have been the Virginia preachers for tidings from Jesse Lee's invasion of New England! And what joy came to Baltimore when the travel-stained superintendent came out of the West with news that the Methodist wildfire was running through the blue grass of Kentucky and the pine lands of the Carolinas! Revival news was what the brethren most sought, and what in these years he had most to give. From 1787 to 1790 there were unprecedented outpourings in many localities, but more especially in those southern Virginia circuits which had been swept by the evangelizing flames ten years before. Elder James O'Kelly saw six thousand at a quarterly meeting of Brunswick Circuit, with "hundreds crying for mercy as on the brink of hell." The penitent spirit spared neither rich nor poor, and a threadbare preacher noted that among those who lay on the ground pleading for mercy were "the principal gentry of the country."

"The Lord hath made bare his holy arm. It looked like the dawn of the millennium," wrote John Dickins, when the great Virginia news had reached New York. On the adjoining circuit, Sussex, the quarterly meeting was still more thronged. Instead of following one another, as was customary, they all preached at once to overflow meetings in chapel, barn, and grove. Philip Cox records that "many of the first quality were wallowing in the dust with their silks and broadcloths, powdered heads, rings, and ruffles. The converts were numbered by hundreds. Sussex, which had five hundred and eighty-nine members in 1787, led all the circuits but one the next year with one thousand six hundred and eleven, while Brunswick rose from four hundred and sixtysix to one thousand six hundred and four. Hope Hull, "the broad ax," was hewing to the line on Amelia Circuit, and rejoicing in the reclamation of "some of the vilest opposers."

John Easter, the senior preacher on the Brunswick Circuit, was one of the heroes of this great awakening. There was no more eloquent speaker in American Methodism than this Virginian. Two future leaders of the Church were among Easter's converts on this circuit—William McKendree and Enoch George. The former narrates this remarkable scene which he witnessed: Easter was preaching afield in time of drought. Clouds gathered, and the first drops of a shower fell. The speaker paused, "and besought the Lord to withhold the rain until evening—to pour out his Spirit, convert the people, and then water the earth." He then resumed his subject. The appearance of rain increased—the people began to get uneasy-some moved to take off their saddles, when in his peculiar manner he told the Lord that there were "sinners there that must be converted or be damned," and prayed that he would "stop the bottles of heaven until evening." He closed his prayer, and assured us in the most confident manner that we might keep our seats—that it would

not rain to wet us; that "souls are to be converted here today, my God assures me of it, and you may believe it." The congregation became composed, and we did not get wet; for the clouds parted, and although there was a fine rain on both sides of us, there was none where we were until night. The Lord's Spirit was poured out in an uncommon degree, many were convicted, and a considerable number professed to be converted that day."

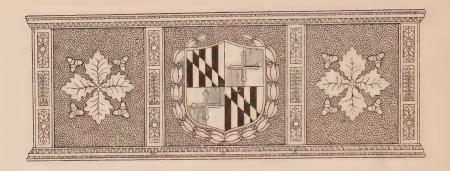
The revivals of 1787 were not confined to Virginia. The membership of the Church advanced nearly fifty per cent in a twelvementh, or from twenty-five thousand in 1787 to thirty-seven thousand in 1788.

Methodism in Maryland and North Carolina felt the impulse from Virginia. Some of the remarkable sights and sounds which had accompanied Easter's preaching followed that of John Haggerty at Annapolis in the early months of 1789. Coke took part with reluctance at first in these meetings, "but soon the tears began to flow," he says, "and I think I have seldom found a more comforting or strengthening time. This praying and praising aloud is a common thing throughout Virginia and Maryland. What shall we say? Souls are awakened and converted by multitudes; and the work is surely a genuine work, if there be a genuine work of God on earth. . . . It is common to have from twenty to fifty souls justified in a day in one place." On Calvert Circuit five hundred souls were converted within a year. In Baltimore were enacted the impressive scenes of which Asbury and Ezekiel Cooper have left most graphic accounts. As the bishop went out through the States publishing the story of the Lord's doings in the city the country circuits were moved. "The preachers are much alive; the fire runs like stubble," wrote one of what he witnessed. "I

know not but these earthquakes of the Lord's power and love will soon run through the continent. O Lord, hasten the time!" And it did run through New Jersey, and wrought wonders in New York. "But few circuits where the work does not revive," wrote Asbury, before these pentecostal years had quite passed.

Atkinson has well summarized the three revival years, 1787–1789: "Amid mighty praying, masterful preaching, powerful exhorting, singing, weeping, wailings, and shoutings the work of God rushed like a tempest. By day and by night, in preachinghouses and in barns, in the field and in the cottage, in the street, on the highway, and in the woods, the revival swept on. . . . In that marvelous period American Methodism was baptized of God for its world-wide mission of spiritual conquest."

The first Methodist Sunday school scholar of whom anything is certainly known was John Charleston, a slave boy who was converted in 1786 in a Methodist Sabbath school which Thomas Crenshaw, of Hanover County, Va., taught in his own house. Charleston was a gigantic negro who lived to be famous as a preacher. The Methodists bought his freedom and McKendree ordained him. Too poor to own a horse, he made his preaching rounds afoot and often walked thirty miles a day to preach three sermons. He would wade to his neck through streams, his dog holding his hymn book and Bible in his mouth to keep them from getting wet. It is said that his converts numbered hundreds. The records of those early days are imperfect, but it would be strange if other godly Methodists had not followed Crenshaw's example and utilized their Sabbaths for the instruction of the young and ignorant. The first official indorsement of the idea in America was at the Charleston, S. C., Conference of February 17, 1790, when it was resolved to establish free Sunday schools for poor children, white and black. The same year provision was made for "a proper schoolbook to teach learning and piety," and the sessions were fixed at "6 to 10 A. M. and 2 to 6 P. M." One of the ministers, Thomas Ware, referring to that action in after years, said that the preachers "resolved, as the heart of one man, to establish Sunday schools. . . . But we erred in confining them chiefly to the poor and to the acquisition of human learning. Our success was not, therefore, commensurate with our confident expectations." Yet the idea which the Methodists adopted was precisely that of Robert Raikes, and it was not for a generation that the modern conception of the Sunday school, as a training ground and nursery of the Church, was generally accepted.



CHAPTER LI

The Failure of the Council

AWKWARD LAWMAKING.—A COUNCIL OF PRESIDING ELDERS.—O'KEL-Ly's Protest.—Everywhere Spoken Against.

IGHT years elapsed between the meeting of the socalled Christmas Conference, or convention of 1784, and the next general convocation of all the itinerants. Meanwhile two expedients were adopted to accomplish legislation. The first plan was practically that which had been in vogue before the formal organization of the Church: several Conferences were held annually at places convenient to the preachers of the respective sections. Propositions were brought up for debate and decision in each Conference; but, as Dr. Neely says, "only that which was agreed to by all the Conferences in any given year became a law." As the affairs of the connection increased in weight and importance, and the management of the college and the Book Concern presented problems which must be met and decided, some more expeditious and certain method of ascertaining the will of the Church became absolutely necessary.

At this juncture the plan of government by means of a

select council was evolved by the bishops. It was laid before the Conferences of 1789 in the following form:

Question. Whereas the holding of General Conferences on this extensive continent would be attended with a variety of difficulties and many inconveniences to the work of God; and whereas we judge it expedient that a council should be formed of chosen men out of the several districts as representatives of the whole connection, to meet at stated times; in what manner is this council to be formed, what shall be its powers, and what further regulations shall be made concerning it?

Answer. I. Our bishops and presiding elders shall be the members of this council; provided that the members who form the council be never fewer than nine. And if any unavoidable circumstance prevent the attendance of a presiding elder at the council, he shall have authority to send another elder out of his own district to represent him; but the elder so sent by the absenting presiding elder shall have no seat in the council without the approbation of the bishop, or bishops, and presiding elders present. And if, after the above-mentioned provisions are complied with, any unavoidable circumstance or any contingencies reduce the number to less than nine, the bishop shall immediately summon such elders as do not preside to complete the number.

2. These shall have authority to mature everything they shall judge expedient:
(1) To preserve the general union. (2) To render and preserve the external form of worship similar in all our societies through the continent. (3) To preserve the essentials of the Methodist doctrines and discipline pure and uncorrupted. (4) To correct all abuses and disorders; and, lastly, they are authorized to mature everything they may see necessary for the good of the Church and for the promoting and improving of our colleges and plan of education.

3. Provided, nevertheless, that nothing shall be received as the resolution of the council unless it be assented to unanimously by the council; and nothing so assented to by the council shall be binding on any district until it has been agreed upon by the majority of the Conference which is held for that district.

4. The bishops shall have authority to summon the council to meet at such times and places as they shall judge expedient.

5. The first council shall be held at Cokesbury on the first day of next December.

There was debate and some opposition from the preachers, but the bishops carried the plan through the successive local Conferences.

The first session of this council of presiding elders, from which so much was expected, was held at Baltimore, not Cokesbury, beginning on or about December 1, 1789. Those

present with Asbury were Richard Ivey, from Georgia; Reuben Ellis, from South Carolina; Edward Morris, North Carolina; Philip Bruce, North District of Virginia; James O'Kelly, South District of Virginia; Lemuel Green, Ohio; Nelson Reed, Western Shore of Maryland; John Dickins, Pennsylvania; Joseph Everett, Eastern Shore of Maryland; James O. Cromwell, New Jersey; and Freeborn Garrettson, New York. The bishop, writing in his Journal on Thursday, December 4, says: "All our business was done in love and unanimity. The concerns of the college were well attended to, as also the printing business. We formed some resolutions relative to economy and union, and others concerning the funds for the relief of our suffering preachers on the frontiers. We rose on the eve of the Wednesday following. During our sitting we had preaching every night; some few souls were stirred up and others were converted. The prudence of some had stilled the noisy ardor of our young people, and it was difficult to rekindle the fire. I collected about £28 for the poor, suffering preachers in the West. We spent one day in speaking our own experiences, and giving an account of the progress and state of the work of God in our several districts. A spirit of union pervaded the whole body, producing blessed effects and fruits."

The satisfaction which Asbury felt on the day after the adjournment of the council did not spread. Jesse Lee, who was no hot-head of the O'Kelly stamp, looked upon the innovation as "exceedingly dangerous." The minutes of the council are transcribed in his valuable History of the Methodists. They show that the council of twelve men adopted a preamble and constitution declaring themselves clothed with "power to mature and resolve on all things relative to the spiritual and temporal interests of the

Church; namely, uniformity of worship, doctrine, and discipline, the control of the printing and publishing agencies and of the schools and college." In the intervals of the council the bishop was empowered to act for the good of the press and college. Nine members were to form a quorum, and the consent of the bishop and two thirds of the members present was required to pass a resolution.

Eight resolutions were then "formed" and handed down to the Conferences for ratification. The first required the ratification of a majority of the Conferences to make an enactment binding upon the whole connection. The second fixed IO A. M. on the Lord's day as the hour for regular preaching. The third prescribed the "exercise of public worship on the Lord's day;" namely, "singing, prayer, and reading the Holy Scriptures, with exhortation or reading a sermon in the absence of a preacher." The fourth regulated the erection of new churches. The fifth dealt with the tuition fees of Cokesbury College. The sixth charged everyone in the connection with devising "some scheme for relieving our dear brethren who labor in the extremities of the work, and do not receive more than six, eight, ten, twelve, or fifteen pounds per annum." The seventh fixed upon three years as the deacon's term of probation before full ordination. The eighth appointed a second council session, to be held in Baltimore on December 1, 1790.

These minutes disclose some changes from the original proposals. The clause which had made it possible for the Conference of any district to annul the effect of a law within its own limits was dropped in the interests of union and order. It was also enacted that the members of the council should be elected by ballot in every Conference at the request of the bishop.

James O'Kelly, the council member from southern Virginia, and a man of talent and ambition, was the first to cry out against the increase of Asbury's power. In January, 1790, he wrote a bitter personal letter to the bishop making complaints against his power and threatening to use his influence against him. The menace was carried out, as appears from Asbury's Journal entry concerning the Conference in southern Virginia of that year: "All was peace until the council was mentioned. The young men appear to be entirely under the influence of the elders, and turned it out of doors. I was weary and felt but little freedom to speak on the subject." In most of the other Conferences the plan fared better, though on the Eastern Shore of Maryland "one or two of our brethren felt the Virginia fire."

So zealous was Asbury for the complete acceptance of his plan that before the next session he wrote to the leader of the protesting faction, "informing him," he says, "that I would take my seat in council as another member and in that point at least waive the claims of episcopacy; yea, I would lie down and be trodden upon rather than knowingly injure one soul."

In the same month Ezekiel Cooper, one of the bishop's stanchest supporters, had written Asbury a letter of anxious inquiry concerning the progress of the idea in the Southern districts. "I confess," he concludes, "my mind is uneasy at seeing anything so irritating among the brethren as this matter appears to be."

The council met for its second session at Baltimore early in December, 1790, "in Philip Rogers's chamber." The members of the former year who attended were Francis Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, Nelson Reed, John Dickins, Philip Bruce, James O. Cromwell, and Joseph Everett.

Francis Poythress and Isaac Smith, Thomas Bowen, and Charles Connaway were also present. It was unanimously agreed that the council had been invested by its electors with "full power to act decisively in all temporal matters, and, secondly, to recommend to the several Conferences any new canons or alterations to be made in any old ones." Lee transcribed the thirty-one questions and some of the answers which comprise the proceedings of this council, but they are of slight importance. Asbury says: "For the sake of union we declined sending out any recommendatory propositions. We had great peace and union in all our labors."

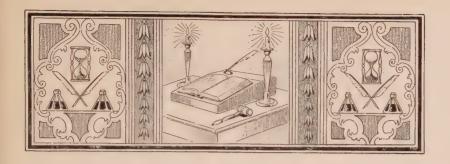
December 1, 1792, was fixed as the date, and Cokesbury or Baltimore the place, of the next session of the council; but a third session was never held.

Lee, who had calmly but urgently opposed the plan from the first, says of the council: "Their proceedings gave such dissatisfaction to our connection in general, and to some of the traveling preachers in particular, that they were forced to abandon the plan; and there has never since been a meeting of the kind. . . . We have sufficient reason to believe that the establishment of the council was very injurious to the Methodist Connection. The plan produced such difficulties in the minds of the preachers and the people, and brought on such opposition, that it was hard to reconcile them one to another. Nothing would or could give satisfaction to the preachers but the calling together all the traveling preachers in a General Conference."

In the following February Coke arrived, after a long absence. Asbury was confident that O'Kelly's letters had reached London, for he found his colleague averse to his pet plan of government. "I felt perfectly calm," he confides to his Journal, "and acceded to a General Conference for the

sake of peace." Two months later he wrote in confidence to his friend, Ezekiel Cooper, betraying his forebodings: "You perhaps have heard of the General Conference which is to meet instead of the next sitting of the council. A letter from Mr. Wesley, the reappointment of Brother Whatcoat, the strange spirit of murmur here [in southern Virginia], and what can be done to amend or substitute a council, and perhaps to implead me on the one part and a presiding elder and Conference on the other. No court is sufficient but a General Conference; and perhaps such a trial may make me and others take care how we take such rash, if not unwarrantable, steps. You are a thinking, prudent man; a word to the wise—let it rest in thy heart."

It was high time for all good men to rally to the support of the Church, which was now racked by dissension. The Virginia preachers were verging toward revolt, the Hammett schism was carrying whole societies away in the South. To Coke the situation appeared desperate, and he wrote confidentially to the leading Protestant Episcopalian to suggest a union of the two episcopal Churches in America. Unless some acceptable plan of government could be devised, the continued existence of the Methodist body seemed, at least to him, to be imperiled.



CHAPTER LII

A General Conference

A POPULAR LEADER.—O'KELLY'S OPPOSITION,—THE CALL FOR A CON-FERENCE.—THE GREAT DEBATE,—CHANGES IN THE DISCIPLINE.— O'KELLY'S WITHDRAWAL.

THE first General Conference of Methodism in the United States met under circumstances of especial excitement and apprehension. Eight years had passed since the Christmas Conference had dissolved without providing for a successor. The old and cumbrous method of enacting or amending legislation by submitting proposals to the approval of the successive District Conferences, later called "Annual," had broken down. Asbury's favorite plan of a council of elders had promised relief, but its autocratic tendencies so frustrated its usefulness that it did not reach a third session.

The most determined enemy of the council and of Asbury was the Rev. James O'Kelly. This veteran preacher was one of the most popular and influential men in the connection. Most of the time since the Christmas Conference he had been elder of those southern Virginia circuits through which the flame of revival ran so violently in 1787. After the first session of the council, of which O'Kelly was a member, he placed himself squarely in opposition, blocking its proposals

in the Virginia Conference, where his influence was supreme, and writing inflammatory letters against Asbury and in favor of the assembling of a General Conference. His letters embittered Wesley's declining days. When the bishops met at Charleston, in 1791, Asbury noted: "I found the doctor's [Coke's] sentiments with regard to the council quite changed. James O'Kelly's letters had reached London. I felt perfectly calm, and acceded to a General Conference for the sake of peace."

The Conference was appointed to meet at Baltimore on November 1, 1792. Asbury foresaw the impending struggle, and his friend, Ezekiel Cooper, wrote to Coke in August, 1791, warning him against the havoc which would result if he should ally himself with "our brother in the lower part of Virginia," and assuring him that "nothing will touch the majority of our preachers sooner or more powerfully than to seek the unjust injury of him who has served them so long and so faithfully." Coke replied that he should come as a man of peace: "O my dear brother, I only desire to live to be in some degree an instrument of uniting God to man and man to man."

One hundred and fourteen regular members attended the Conference, including two from Nova Scotia. Most of the strong men of the Christmas Conference were there: John Dickins, such indomitable missionaries of the first decade as Lee and Garrettson, and such counselors and leaders of the future as Cooper and McKendree. Neither the roll nor the Journal of the proceedings has been preserved, and we must have recourse to the letters and private Journals of a few preachers for our meager report of the proceedings.

The session began at 9 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, November 1, 1792, and, as the brethren from all parts of the field found themselves once more together under one roof, a wave of "great love and unity" swept through their company, overwhelming for the moment the ugly rumors of dissension which were abroad. The first day was devoted to organization. Rules of procedure were adopted, and a committee for the preparation of business was appointed, to consist of the bishops and six elders. The bishops were to preside, and parliamentary law was to govern the debates.

On the second day O'Kelly precipitated the struggle by bringing forward a motion to limit the appointing power of the bishop in these words:

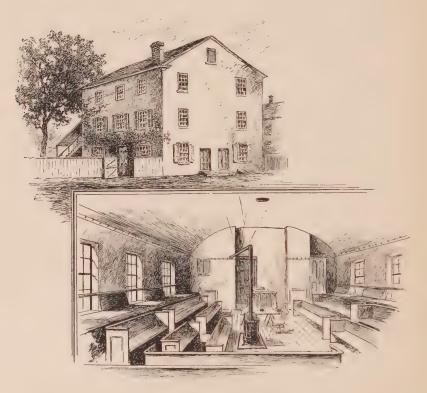
"After the bishop appoints the preachers at Conference to their several circuits, if anyone think himself injured by the appointment, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Conference and state his objections; and if the Conference approve his objections, the bishop shall appoint him to another circuit."

Asbury had the delicacy to withdraw while this question, which involved a discussion of his administration, was in debate. In his letter to the Conference he said: "I am happy in the consideration that I have never stationed a preacher through enmity or as a punishment. I have acted for the glory of God, and the good of the people, and to promote the usefulness of the preachers."

The debate waxing hot, Dickins moved to divide the question: "Shall the bishop appoint the preachers to the circuits? and, Shall a preacher be allowed to appeal?" The first part was unanimously carried. The battle was hotly waged upon the matter of the appeal, and finally, late on Monday night, it was voted down. O'Kelly had made his fight and been worsted. The next morning he withdrew from the Conference, taking with him a handful of personal followers—

' four or five," it is said. Alluding to these irreconcilables, Asbury said, "Perhaps a new bishop, new Conference, and new laws would have better pleased some."

The matter of the council, from which trouble had been



THE SEAT OF THE EARLY GENERAL CONFERENCES IN BALTIMORE.

Light Street Parsonage, showing outside stairway.

The upper room, where the Conferences sat,

expected, was dropped by tacit consent, and it was decided to hold a second General Conference in Baltimore in 1796, to be composed of "all preachers who shall be in good connection at the time of holding the Conference."

The Discipline was taken up section by section and revised.

Only a few among the numerous alterations were important, and these were not so much innovations as the recognition of existing conditions. Thus the office of presiding elder was now first mentioned in the laws of the Church. It had grown out of the action of the Christmas Conference, which, instead of ordaining all the traveling preachers, had selected a few for elder's orders, and appointed each of them to travel through several circuits to administer the sacraments. The Discipline now provided that "they should be chosen, stationed, and changed by the bishop," and the term of service on one district was limited to four years.

No boundaries of the Annual Conferences had as yet been established, but it was decided that the bishops might put from three to twelve circuits together in a District Conference, the traveling preachers of which he should meet annually at such times as he should appoint. An order of business comprising eighteen questions was determined for these Annual Conference sessions. In case of the bishop's death the presiding elders were to perform his functions—except ordinations—until the next election. The bishop was made amenable to the General Conference, and provision was made for his trial and expulsion under certain circumstances.

For the sake of uniformity in public worship it was directed that "the morning service consist of singing, prayer, the reading of a chapter out of the Old Testament and another out of the New, and preaching." With slight modifications the same order was for the afternoon and evening services. As to singing, the preachers were desired to "discourage the singing of fugue tunes," not because such elaborate music was in itself sinful, but "because public singing is a part of divine worship in which all the congregation ought to join."

To the preacher's salary—\$64 a year—traveling expenses

were now added, these to include "ferriage, horseshoeing, and provision for themselves and horses on the road when they necessarily rode a distance."

Almost every section of the Discipline gives evidence of having been carefully examined in 1792, though the changes are in general slight; "such," said the bishops in their preface to the published form, "as affect not in any degree the essentials of our doctrines and discipline. We think ourselves obliged frequently to view and review annually the



THE TYPICAL AMERICAN STAGECOACH.

whole order of our Church, always aiming at perfection, standing on the shoulders of those who have lived before us, and taking the advantage of our former selves."

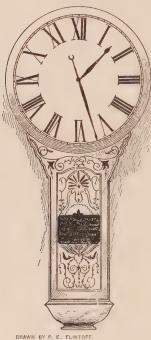
On Thursday, November 15, at 5 P. M., the Conference closed its deliberations, thanked Coke "for his labor," and adjourned, the doctor closing with a sermon in the evening, which was attended with "gracious power," and resulted in several conversions.

"It was a comfortable time to most of us," wrote Jesse Lee, looking back upon the session when time had somewhat softened its acrimonies, "and we were highly favored of the Lord with his presence and love. The proceedings gave great satisfaction to our preachers and people; and the divisive spirit which had been prevailing in different parts of our connection was considerably checked. . . . Some of the preachers, who came to the Conference dissatisfied, at the close of the meeting were perfectly reconciled, and returned to their circuits fully determined to spend and be spent in the work of the ministry and in the fellowship of the Church."

O'Kelly went away from Baltimore more bitter than he came. He was deaf to the tearful entreaties of his brethren. As Lee watched him and his Virginia friends leaving Baltimore, he observed to a fellow-preacher that he was persuaded the "old man" would soon put himself at the head of a party. The prediction was soon realized. In North Carolina and Virginia, the field of most of his fruitful ministerial labors, O'Kelly had many warm friends. These rallied about him in an endeavor to establish a Methodist Church which should be free from the "one man" power against which he fulminated. Some of the local preachers joined him, and many persons, in some instances whole societies, severed their connection with Episcopal Methodism to unite with his "Republican Methodists," in which all preachers were to be on an equality, and the lay members were to enjoy enlarged liberties. O'Kelly, in his unreasoning fulminations against Asbury, said: "No man among us ought to get into the apostle's chair with the keys, and stretch a lordly power over the ministers and kingdom of Christ. 'Tis a human invention, a quicksand, and when my gray hairs may be preserved underground I may be remembered. . . . A consolidated government is always bad. . . . Men of wit will leave the traveling connection "-and more of the same tenor.

O'Kelly had come up to Conference with William McKendree, one of the young preachers from his district. They

had lodged together, and in their room the councils of war had been held. Defeat only drew the chivalrous young Virginian closer to his gray-haired chief, and when, a few days after the adjournment of the General Conference, Asbury came to station the Virginia preachers, McKendree



THE WESLEV CLOCK TOUR

THE WESLEY CLOCK, JOHN STREET CHURCH, N. Y.

This timepiece has been in use in the three successive churches in John Street for more than a century.

declined to accept an appointment at the hands of such a "pope." But the bishop, perceiving what possibilities slumbered in the rebellious youth, secured his company during a part of his episcopal round, and so opened his eyes to the wisdom of the Methodist polity and the folly of O'Kelly's schismatic course that McKendree frankly admitted his error, and returned to the bosom of the Church of which he was to become a stanch defender.

O'Kelly went his own way. Within ten years the Church which had been formed as a protest against centralization had split in two. A few years later another subdivision took place, and Jesse Lee, writing somewhat boastfully in 1809, asserted that

subdivision had by that time gone so far that "it is hard to find two of them that are of one opinion." O'Kelly settled in Orange County, N. C., built a church still known by his name, and died there in 1826, at the great age of ninety-one.

It was a full decade before the Methodist Episcopal Church

recovered from the dissensions of these years. In 1791 the membership was seventy-six thousand one hundred and fifty-three. Within the next five years its membership fell off to fifty-six thousand six hundred and forty-four, a loss which was not made good until the revival years which ushered in the nineteenth century.



CHAPTER LIII

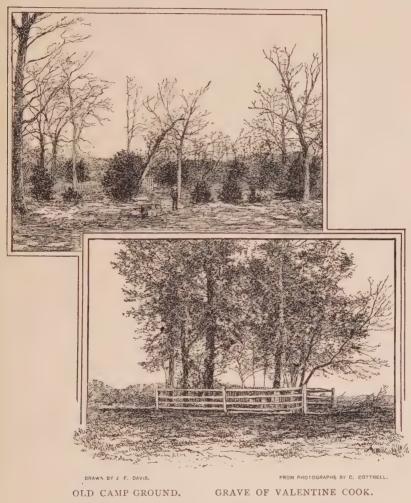
Feasts of Tabernacles

CHRISTIAN UNITY ON THE CUMBERLAND.—THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT REVIVAL.—SHOUTS IN THE CAMP.—STRANGE PHYSICAL EXERCISES.—FAR-REACHING RESULTS.

S TRONG indeed was the eye of faith which amid the twilight of the eighteenth century could foresee the triumphs which were to be won in the name of religion in the nineteenth. Yet suddenly, upon the mirk of the deism, skepticism, and atheism which had settled down upon the age, coarsening its manners and brutalizing its morals, there flamed forth from remote and humble pulpits a revival fire which was to sweep over prairie and mountain, dropping its live coals upon the dull altars of the East and breathing life into the manifold forms of modern Christian enterprise and effort.

In the rainy autumn of the last year of the old century three horsemen whose names are honored throughout Methodism rode into Kentucky. They were Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat, his newly elected colleague, and William McKendree, who, as presiding elder, was about to take charge of the entire work in the valley of the Mississippi. After holding a Conference at the Bethel Academy, on Kentucky

River, they turned toward the settlements on the Cumberland. As they entered Tennessee they noted signs of intense religious interest. In Nashville the three men preached to



Near site of first camp meeting. On Muddy River, near Russellville, Ky.

a very large audience, the service lasting three hours. The next day, October 20, 1800, was memorable for Asbury; for on that day, at Drake's Creek meetinghouse, the first Methodist bishop attended his first camp meeting. It was at the close of a four days' sacramental service, held by Craighead, Hodge, McGee, and Adair, all Presbyterian ministers. By their invitation the three Methodists preached to the throng. Asbury's Journal gives his impressions of the occasion:

"Yesterday, and especially during the night, were witnessed scenes of deep interest. In the intervals between preaching the people refreshed themselves and horses and returned upon the ground. The stand was in the open air, embosomed in a wood of lofty beech trees. The ministers of God, Methodists and Presbyterians, united their labors and mingled with the childlike simplicity of primitive times. Fires blazing here and there dispelled the darkness, and the shouts of the redeemed captives and the cries of precious souls struggling into life broke the silence of midnight. The weather was delightful, as if heaven smiled while mercy flowed in abundant streams of salvation to perishing sinners. We suppose there were at least thirty souls converted at this meeting. I rejoice that God is visiting the sons of the Puritans, who are candid enough to acknowledge their obligations to the Methodists."

This gracious revival, with its accompaniments of Christian unity and camp meetings, had been nearly a year in progress when the coming of the bishops brought it into notice. In 1799 two consecrated brothers, John and William McGee, the former a Methodist local preacher and the latter a Presbyterian minister, set out from their homes in Sumner (now Smith) County, Tenn., on a preaching tour "towards Ohio." On their way they attended "a sacramental solemnity" in the Rev. Mr. McGready's Presbyterian congregation on Red River, where the Methodist preacher was invited to speak.

"I know not," he says, "that ever God favored me with more light and liberty than he did each day while I endeavored to convince the people that they were sinners, and urged the necessity of repentance and of a change from nature to grace, and held up to their view the greatness, freeness, and

fullness of salvation which was in Christ Jesus for lost, guilty, condemned sinners."

Several others preached, and the services continued through several days. Deep feeling prevailed and tears ran down many cheeks. On the last day a woman "got an uncommon blessing, broke through order, and shouted," while Mr. Hodge, a Presbyterian, was preaching. There was to have been an



TED BY BYRD.

REV. JAMES HORTON.

A noted figure at Eastern camp meetings.

intermission, but the people kept their seats. Says John McGee of this memorable hour, the birth throe of the great revival: "A power which caused me to tremble was upon me. There was a solemn weeping all over the

house. . . . At length I rose up and told the people that I was appointed to preach, but there was a greater than I preaching, and exhorted them to let the Lord God omnipotent reign in their hearts, and to submit to him, and their souls should live. Many broke silence; the woman in the east end of the house shouted tremendously. I left the pulpit to go to her, and as I went along through the people it was suggested to me, 'You know these people are much for order—they will not bear this confusion. Go back, and be quiet.' I turned to go back and was near falling. The power of God was strong upon me; I turned again, and, losing sight of the fear of man, I went through the house shouting and exhorting with all possible ecstasy and energy, and the floor was soon covered with the slain. . . . Some found forgiveness, and many went away from that meeting feeling unutterable agonies of soul. . . . This was the beginning of that glorious revival of religion in this country which was so great a blessing to thousands; and from this meeting camp meetings took their rise. One man, for the want of horses for all his family to ride and attend the meeting, fixed up his wagon, in which he took them and his provisions and lived on the ground throughout the meeting. He had left his worldly cares behind him, and had nothing to do but attend on divine service."

The quarterly circuit meeting of the American Methodists, with its large attendance of persons from the several societies of the circuit, its numerous preachers, and its services extending through three days and culminating in the keen spiritual delights of the love feast, had anticipated by more than twenty years many of the characteristic features of a camp meeting. It is claimed, moreover, on good evidence, that religious encampments had been held in western

North Carolina by Methodists and Presbyterians as early as 1794.

Such scenes as had been witnessed in the Methodist revival in Virginia ten years before were now repeated in Tennessee and Kentucky, where camp meetings bounded into popularity. By the great fires which illuminated the forest "the

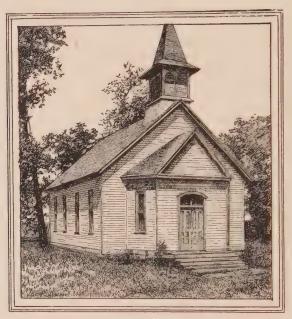


FROM AN OLD WOODCUT.

AN OLD-TIME CAMP MEETING.

nights were truly awful; the people were differently exercised, some exhorting, some shouting, some praying, and some crying for mercy, while others lay as dead men on the ground. Some of the spiritually wounded fled to the woods, and their groans could be heard all through the groves as the groans of dying men. From thence many came into the camp rejoicing and praising God." John McGee lived to a ripe old age, and never lost his zest for camp meetings. The greatest that he ever attended was on Desha's Creek, near Cumberland River. "Many thousands" attended, and "the

people fell before the word like corn before a storm of wind, and many rose from the dust with divine glory shining in their countenances, and gave glory to God in such strains as made the hearts of stubborn sinners to tremble; and after the first



WANDA CHURCH.

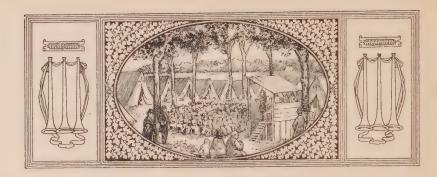
On the site of old Salem camp ground, near Edwardsville, Ill. The trees form part of the grove which sheltered one of the most famous of Western camp meetings.

gust of praise they would break forth into whole volleys of exhortation."

The first camps were crude enough. Some slept in shelter tents, some in covered wagons; others contrived booths of boughs, or rude sheds of sapling poles and boards. Substantial cabins afterward took their place. In the center of the square encampment was an auditorium, with platform and lectern of deals, in front of which a space was roughly railed

in for an altar, and covered with straw, the seats within the inclosure being known as the "mourners' bench." Here, at the close of the sermon, gathered the inquirers, while the preachers and others ministered to their spiritual needs. McFerrin thus describes the daily round at one of these feasts of tabernacles:

"At daybreak a trumpet roused the camp. A second blast was the signal for private prayer. At the third peal all who could leave their tents collected at the preaching stand for public prayer. Then came breakfast. At 8 and 11 A. M., at 3 P. M., and early candlelighting there was preaching with exhortation, followed by a prayer meeting with the penitents. The preaching was expected to be animated, and after the sermon the second man, or exhorter, was to apply the subject and move the congregation to action. Choristers led the singing, but the whole multitude would join in some chorus hymn."



CHAPTER LIV

Camps in the South and East

ON SOUTHERN CAMP GROUNDS.—ASBURY'S APPROVAL.—SCENES IN THE SACRED GROVES.—THE HAPPY MONDAY.—ASBURY'S "SILVER TRUMPET."—STRANGE PHYSICAL EXERCISES.—FAR-REACHING RESULTS.

HE camp meeting idea soon crossed the mountains. In 1802 Asbury wrote, "The South Carolina and Georgia camp meetings have been blessed to the souls of hundreds;" and again: "I think well of large meetings, camp and quarterly meetings. The more preachers to preach and pray, and so many of God's people, and so many of the children of God's children present, we may hope for great things." The hoped-for things came to pass, and preacher after preacher notes his satisfaction at seeing the children of Methodist parents converted to God.

With the bishop's full approval camp grounds were established on the northern circuits in Maryland as early as 1803, and in New York in the following year.

The Maryland meeting was near Reisterstown, fifteen miles from Baltimore, late in September, and in spite of the lateness of the season there were two hundred or three hundred campers, and literally thousands of solemn auditors for the score of preachers. "Many fell down slain with the sword

of the Spirit, and groaned like men dying on the field of battle." "O my brother," wrote one of the preachers, "on the one hand you would have seen a poor sinner leaning with his head against a tree, with tears running from his eyes, and somebody going and pointing him to the Lamb of God upon the cross. On the other hand you would have seen a whole group of people, and from the midst of them you would have heard the piercing outcries of the broken-hearted penitent; and to turn your eyes in another direction you would see a gray-headed father and his children crying to God to have mercy on their souls. . . . I could have led you to a place where the divine blessing was manifested, similar to the glory which appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation when the wandering Israelites fell upon their faces and shouted. It was a tent filled with happy souls, to the number of fourteen or fifteen, who had either been converted, sanctified, or had received some remarkable blessing that day. . . . The crowd parting, you would have seen three or four persons bearing along a poor, heavy-laden sinner who had been lying helpless upon the ground, groaning bitterly to heaven, being overwhelmed with sorrow of heart and the dreadful onsets of guilt and fear. You would have heard his outcry, 'Lord, save or I perish!' At length in one of those highly favored tents God would set their souls at liberty and fill them with a holy triumph. . . . I was informed that there were not three minutes one whole night but they were in the exercises of singing or prayer." The ingathering of the last day -September 26, 1803—was so great that it was long known in Maryland as "the Happy Monday."

Snethen, Asbury's "silver trumpet," was one of the most popular of the camp meeting evangelists, and his sermons in Maryland and in the New York meeting, which began at Carmel, in September, 1804, were productive of powerful and lasting effects. At a celebrated camp meeting held in 1809 at the head of the Wye, in Maryland, he was the leading preacher. After preaching forty minutes he was prostrated by the surging waves of his own emotion. Rising to his knees, he redoubled his entreaties, and then fell shouting. One preacher after another tried to follow, but they fell to the floor, while the thronged assembly was tossed by tumultuous emotion. A tall preacher leaped to the ground, and, holding himself upright by means of a sapling, ended a powerful exhortation by inviting penitents to come forward. There was a rush toward the mourners' bench, and before the gracious season closed five hundred converts had been added to the Church.

Strange physical phenomena were observed at many of these revival meetings. The "falling exercise" was by far the most common; indeed a preacher scarcely considered his labors owned of God unless "the slain" fell about him. "Uncle Jimmy Horton," a celebrated local preacher of that day, took part in the first camp meeting in New York State. In his Narrative he says, "The love of God came into my poor soul in such floods that my body was overpowered, and I fell prostrate on the ground, and a number of others with me." Upon recovering his strength he "fought all that night, singing, praying, and exhorting. Sometimes, while at prayer, I could hear the people falling like logs around me." A few years later "a young man fell under the power of God; his companions caught him up and carried him off in a wagon. He lay a few moments and the Lord blessed him with the pardon of his sins. He rose up and began to exhort them, and they all ran and left him. He came back to camp very happy." On board a Hudson River sloop

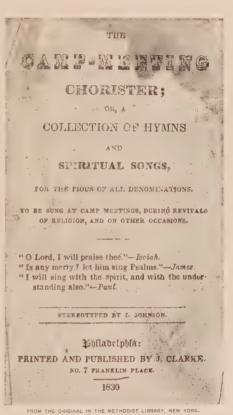




bound for New York Horton began to pray in a group of colored passengers. "I had not prayed long before they began to jump and fall around me in every direction." He

had to set a guard over each one before he could continue the service.

A leading Presbyterian minister, Rev. Barton W. Stone, who observed these manifestations very closely, has left a full account of their various phases. He says that thousands of every age and grade would utter a piercing scream, fall like a log on the floor or earth, and appear as dead. For example, two gay young ladies, sisters, came to a meeting to watch the sinners as much as to hear the preaching. Suddenly they both dropped to the earth with a shriek of distress, and lay uncon-



A POPULAR CAMP MEETING HYMNAL.

scious, to the terror of their mother. After an hour they uttered cries for mercy, soon relapsing into gloomy silence. After a while a heavenly smile stole over the face of one, and she cried out, "Precious Jesus!" and spoke of the glory of the Gospel to the surrounding crowd in language almost superhuman, and exhorted all to repentance. Her

sister passed through a similar experience, and from that time both became remarkably pious members of the Church.

Of the "jerks," the same cool observer says that with some persons the head alone would be affected, which would be twitched backward and forward, or sideways, so rapidly that the features could not be distinguished. He adds, "I have seen a person stand in one place and jerk (his body) backward and forward in quick succession, the head nearly touching the floor behind and before." This strange emotion spared neither saint nor sinner. Christians counted such seasons very precious, but wicked persons would curse and swear while they were the sport of this remarkable power. dancing exercise generally began with the jerks, and was peculiar to professors of religion. The subject, after jerking a while, began to dance, and then the jerks would cease. . . . The smile of heaven shone on the countenance. . . . Sometimes the motion was quick, sometimes slow. They continued to move forward and backward in the same track or alley until nature seemed exhausted, and they would fall prostrate."

At times the violence of the jerking movement would force from the subject spasmodic sounds, which were compared to the bark of a dog. Often sinners who came to scoff would take to their heels to escape these exercises. Stone tells of a proud young physician who had come to the meeting out of curiosity. He "felt something very uncommon," and took to the woods, running as for dear life. "He did not proceed far before he fell down, and there lay until he submitted to the Lord."

Quite as remarkable as the foregoing is the case of a faithful Mississippi class leader whose specialty was "the jumping exercise." At the moment of his conversion his inward joy prompted him to spring to his feet and "leap and praise

the Lord." He cleared every bench and other obstruction without the least injury to himself or anyone else, and when it was over he felt the most unspeakable peace and tranquillity. This leaping became a marked feature of his public



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE METHODIST LIBRARY, NEW YORK

CAMP MEETING HYMNS.

Two pages from The Camp-Meeting Chorister. Hymn 381 was a special favorite.

and private devotions, and once, when he gave it up lest it prove a stumbling-block to some weaker brother, he lost his enjoyment of religion.

"That there were many eccentricities and much fanaticism in this excitement," says Mr. Stone of the great revival as it passed under his eye in the West, "was acknowledged by its warmest advocates. Indeed it would have been a wonder if such things had not appeared in the circumstances of that time. Yet the good effects were seen and acknowledged in

every neighborhood and among the different sects." Many witnesses agree to the outward change which followed these years when the attention of the settlers was fixed upon religious things. Learned divines went West for the sole purpose of studying the revival, and reported its marvelous power in purifying and refining life on the frontier. "I found Kentucky," said one of them, in 1801, "to appearance, the most moral place I had ever seen. A profane expression was hardly ever heard. A religious awe seemed to pervade the country."

The revival which wrought such wonders in the West did not subside until it had done a great work in the East, and as it had begun in fraternal labors by Presbyterians and Methodists, and had been continued by the means of general or union camp meetings, so all denominations shared in the ingathering. The New England churches shook off the spiritual lethargy of sixty years and entered upon their most glorious epoch. From the awakened conscience of Christ's people sprang that new sense of responsibility to God and man which has manifested itself in the forms of organized beneficence which ennoble the nineteenth century.



CHAPTER LV

The Winning of the West

OPENING OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY.—KOBLER'S SUCCESSORS IN OHIO.
—EARLY LABORS IN INDIANA.—ILLINOIS.—MISSOURI.—MICHIGAN.

AD Anthony Wayne's defeat of the Miami confederacy and the subsequent treaty with the Indians, in 1795, made it safe at last for the Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and Kentuckians to cross the boundary river and settle that portion of the Northwest Territory which became the sovereign State of Ohio. As early as 1796 one Francis McCormick, a Methodist local preacher who had been converted in Virginia, left Kentucky and settled near Milford, in Clermont County, O. He told his neighbors of the joys of religion, formed among them the first Methodist class in the Northwest Territory, and appealed to the States for a Conference preacher. For many years his home at Milford, and afterward at Salem, near Cincinnati, was a preaching place, and he lived to be a sturdy pillar in the Methodism which he was the first to bring to Ohio.

In response to McCormick's urgent and repeated calls, Rev. John Kobler volunteered to go to Ohio. He crossed the river near Columbia, and kneeling upon the northern bank as he landed, committed himself and his mission to the

divine keeping. At McCormick's house, on August 2, 1798, he preached "to a tolerable congregation" on Acts xvi, 9: "And a vision appeared to Paul in the night: There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us." The "Macedonian" and the apostle



FRANCIS MC CORMICK.

traveled together around the settlements which were to form the circuit, "up the Little Miami and Mad Rivers to Zanesville and then down the Big Miami to Cincinnati"—then a few cabins huddled under the guns of the frontier post, Fort Washington. Kobler was then only about thirty years of age, but a veteran presiding elder, in the roughest

district of Kentucky and Tennessee, and one of those iron men whose zeal no discouragement could abate. His short year of service on Miami Circuit yielded one hundred members save one. He organized classes, and in the Christmas season of 1798 administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to twenty-five or thirty persons. It was the first Methodist celebration of the rite in the Northwest Territory. Lewis Hunt filled out Kobler's year, but his health was too frail for this service, and in 1799 Henry Smith, an old Virginia friend of McCormick, was appointed to Miami. Smith organized a second circuit,

"Scioto," where, as usual, the local preachers had formed classes.

Says Smith of his own qualifications: "I could eat anything that was set before me; and could sleep anywhere, and accommodate myself to every inconvenience, so that I might

do good to my fellow - men." For eighteen months he was beset by intermittent fevers, and was twice at death's door. Scarcely convalescent, in February, 1801, he ventured on a thirty-mile ride through a wilderness to New



GRAVE OF MC CORMICK.

Market. Overtaken by a blizzard, he says: "I began to think that my lot was hard, and wept, till I met another poor fellow. I said to myself, 'This man is not clad as well as I am, and he is out on his own business; I am on the Lord's business.' I dried my tears and went on cheerfully with a heart to sing:

In hope of that immortal crown
I now the cross sustain;
And gladly wander up and down,
And smile at toil and pain."

Smith remained in the territory until September, 1801.

The influx of immigration brought many Eastern Metho-

dists into the territory. Philip Gatch, who had been a noted evangelist in the East twenty years before, now settled in the Miami region, where for twenty years he was honored as a judge and leading citizen.

Thomas Scott, a Marylander, who had come to Kentucky as a preacher in 1794, located at Chillicothe, where he prac-



The church was built in 1816 to house the society organized by Francis McCormick in 1797.

The church was built in 1816 to house the society organized by Francis McCormick in 1797.

ticed law and preached the Gospel. He was prominent in civil affairs, and became the first chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State.

When the future chief justice was a stripling preacher in Virginia a physician named Edward Tiffin came to a small meeting at his private lodgings. "After singing, prayer, and exhortation," says Scott, "I gave an invitation to those

who wished to become members to come forward and announce their names. I had not perceived that he, Dr. Tiffin, was affected; but he quickly stepped forward, evidently under deep and pungent conviction, roaring almost with anguish, and asked for admission into the Church. He was admitted."

Immediately he received his call to the ministry, and, "conferring not with flesh and blood, and without waiting for a license, he forthwith commenced preaching." Some years afterward he settled at Chillicothe, and there Scott renewed his friendship. Tiffin was a short. stout man of warm heart and great aggressive force. He took a leading hand in the political agitation of the time, became the first gov-



PHOTOGRAPH FURNISHED BY A. M_1 COURTENAY. ${\tt JUDGE\ THOMAS\ SCOTT.}$ A leading Methodist of the early days in Ohio.

ernor of the State, and one of its United States senators.

Thus, with McCormick, Gatch, Scott, and Tiffin, began the distinguished line of Methodist laymen of Ohio, whose eminent public services have been matched by the purity and honor of their private lives and the fervor of their attachment to the Church of their choice.

Cincinnati had denied Kobler a hearing, and he takes the liberty to call it "an old garrison; a declining, time-stricken, God-forsaken place." Some of his successors preached there, but it was not until 1804 that the Rev. John Sale, having preached in a house in Main Street between First and Second Streets, organized the first society in the town. The eight members rapidly gained others, and after worshiping a few months in a log schoolhouse near Lawrence and Concord Streets they began, in 1805, to build the "Old Stone Church."

While the Kentucky preachers were entering Ohio at the southwest angle other gateways had been found by the enterprising leaders who directed the energies of those itinerants whose headquarters were in the Redstone region of southwestern Pennsylvania. Before the end of the century Robert Manly, Jesse Stoneman, and James Quinn had opened the Muskingum and Hockhocking valleys, and about the same time the Methodist shoutings began to be heard among the Yankee pioneers of the Western Reserve. The advance was by way of Chenango, where two Irish local preachers, Jacob Gurwell and Thomas McClelland, formed a class in the woods in 1798 with that modest "long rifle," the future Bishop Robert R. Roberts, as its leader. This was the first germ of the Erie Conference. The itinerants soon arrived. Circuits were formed—first Chenango, and then Erie. In 1803 Deerfield was formed; so named from a place beyond the Ohio line, in Portage County, where Henry Shewel, a local preacher, had penetrated, and where that eloquent man of God, Shadrach Bostwick, planted Methodism with indefatigable zeal.

Indiana was settled slowly, and the tomahawk of the savage was brandished there long after Ohio was comparatively

civilized. Kentucky supplied most of the early inhabitants, and Nathan Robertson, who has been called the pioneer



GOVERNOR TIFFIN.

Dr. Edward P. Tiffin (b. 1766, d. 1820) was a local preacher and class leader and a distinguished figure in early Methodism west of the Alleghanies. He was speaker of the first territorial convention of Ohio, 1799, and of the constitutional convention of 1802; first governor of Ohio, 1803 and 1805; United States senator, 1807; United States commissioner of public lands under President Madison, 1812; surveyor general of the Northwest, 1813-1828.

Methodist of Indiana, emigrated from the former State in 1799 and settled at Charlestown. The first Methodist class

is said to have been formed near that village, in Clark County, in 1802, and there was erected the log chapel, the first preachinghouse in the Hoosier State.

In 1805 Hugh Cull, a local preacher from Kentucky, settled in the Whitewater country and exercised his gift. 1808 the Rev. Joseph Williams was sent to Whitewater Circuit, embracing the settlements from the Ohio as far north as the site of Richmond and west to the Indian country. The next year a second circuit, Silver Creek, was added, and in 1810 young William Winans, afterward famous in the Southwest, was appointed to a third circuit, which bore the name of the ancient French post of Vincennes. On one occasion Winans is said to have preached in this town to a congregation of two persons, one of whom, General William Henry Harrison, the territorial governor, held the tallow candle by which the young preacher could see and read his hymns. At the close of 1811 the preachers reported one thousand one hundred and sixty members on the three circuits.

An Indiana veteran, W. C. Smith, thus describes the early preaching places: "The first were the log cabins into which fifty or a hundred hearers might be crowded. In the summer a rude stand was put up under the beech trees and seats of split logs were arranged before it. The meetinghouses were of logs, roofed with clapboards held down by weight poles. The floors were of puncheons; the chimneys of sticks and clay, and the seats of split logs hewn smoothly with an ax. The pulpits were of clapboards, shaved nicely with a drawing knife. A window opening behind the pulpit gave light for the preacher to read hymns, lessons, and text. Often it was the only window in the house." Camp meetings were early introduced into Indiana and were very popular and useful.

According to the best accounts Illinois Methodism began, in 1793, with the transient visit of Joseph Lillard, then a local preacher in Kentucky. He formed a class, of which Joseph Ogle was the leader. A few years later Hosea Rigg, a local preacher, settled in St. Clair County and breathed



RUINS OF THE FIRST METHODIST MEETINGHOUSE IN OHIO.

new life into the dry bones of Ogle's class, and it was due to Rigg's representations before the Western Conference that "Benjamin Young, missionary," was appointed to "Illinois" for 1804. The region so called was until 1809 a part of Indiana Territory, and a few thousand English settlers were mostly in the southwestern part, near the Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers. Young, who owed his conversion to his greater brother, Jacob, had preached with success three or four years in Kentucky and Ohio when he received his order to the farthest circuit of the West. Difficulties met him even before he reached Illinois. The Kickapoo Indians stole the horses of himself and his companion, and they had to walk fifty miles to the nearest settlement. At Kaskaskia the

chief town, the churlish settlers charged him two dollars for the room he preached in and ten shillings a day for board. At this rate his little stock was quickly spent, and he had either to sell his books or starve. In his thin and ragged clothing he suffered much that first winter, and the spring found him sickly and disheartened. In June, 1804, he wrote: "As for the state of religion, it is bad. I have formed a circuit, and five classes of fifty members. In some places there is a revival. About twenty have professed to be converted since I came, but the bulk of the people are given up to wickedness of every kind. Of all places it is the worst for stealing, fighting, and lying."

Sixty-seven members were reported to Conference, held at Mount Gerizim, Ky., and McKendree, presiding in Asbury's absence, sent Joseph Oglesby to replace Benjamin Young in Illinois. The new preacher was a tall dark man, with a massive forehead, piercing eye, and thin face. The membership was doubled by his zeal, and he crossed into Missouri, preaching and prospecting for Methodism in the settlements west of that great river. In 1805 the membership scarcely held its own under Rev. C. B. Matheny, but the year is notable for the erection at Goshen settlement, in Madison County, of the Bethel Church, the first Methodist meetinghouse in Illinois.

Jesse Walker, the fourth man sent to the frontier circuit (1806), was the ideal evangelist of the backwoods. He was now forty years of age and had had but twenty days of schooling in all his life. Two years before he had made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Illinois as the traveling companion of Rev. Lewis Garrett, presiding elder of the district (Cumberland), but in the spring of 1806 he had viewed the field with the new elder, McKendree, and eagerly accepted his appointment. His wife and two daughters

started with him from Nashville at a day's notice, and after a horseback journey of two hundred miles were settled in a log cabin parsonage near Turkey Hill settlement, in St. Clair County. His energy soon introduced the peculiar forms of Methodism. The year was rounded out with a watch night



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

OLD LOG CHURCH NEAR CHARLESTOWN, IND., ERECTED 1808.

It is claimed that this was the first Methodist Episcopal church edifice in Indiana.

service and a love feast, and in April, 1807, near Edwards-ville, the first camp meeting in the State was held. It was attended with the shoutings and muscular exercises that had characterized such gatherings in Kentucky. A few months later another encampment was held, at Three Springs, and as the people were singing their morning hymn they were answered by a party of horsemen who came on singing as they rode. The leader was the red-shirted elder, William McKendree, who, with James Gwin and Abbott Goddard, had been visiting John Travis, the lonely missionary in Missouri, and

were now bound eastward. The newcomers were greeted with a storm of hosannas which lasted for a quarter of an hour. The next three days were fruitful for Methodism. The word was with power, and many souls of reckless and godless men were born again. The principal citizens of the country were drawn by McKendree's reputation, and his Sunday sermon, "Come, let us reason together," swept away the barriers of prejudice and gained many adherents to the cause.

The report of this meeting brought curious throngs to the next, some furnished with brandy and cards for pastime. For two days the sermons fell powerless. McKendree, the tears streaming down his cheeks, said to Gwin: "Brother, we have preached for ourselves and not for the Lord. Go and preach Christ crucified to the people." They knelt and implored God's help as the sun went down. At candlelighting James Gwin preached from the text, "Behold the Man." Rain began to fall on the exposed stand, but the audience was sheltered by an arbor and the sermon continued. "My heart was fired," says Gwin, "and my tongue loosened in an unusual manner. For a few moments nothing but sobs and sighs were heard among the people; at length the whole congregation seemed suddenly smitten with the power of God." All night the work continued, and many shouted the joy of their salvation.

An Indian hunter, who had joined the crowd hoping to get some whisky, stood by a sapling listening to the burning words of the sermon. "There came on me a mighty weight," he said, "too heavy to stand under." He fell to the ground and lay all night. At daybreak he would have fled, but the singing drew him again within earshot of the preachers, and again he fell. "At last," he says, "a white man came and talked over me, and while he was talking I got lighter and

lighter, and everything got whiter than the sun could make it look. The heavy load and the blackness all left me. I felt glad in my heart and jumped up and felt light."

Walker reported two hundred and twenty members to Conference. John Clingan had the circuit in 1807, Abraham Amos in 1809, and Daniel Fraley in 1810, Walker being re-

turned to Illinois in 1808 and 1811, and in 1812 becoming presiding elder of the Illinois District.

In 1810 a new circuit, "Cash Creek" (afterward "Cash River" and "Massac"), was formed among the recent settlements in the southeastern part of the Ter-



THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN ILLINOIS.

Bethel Meetinghouse (1805), in "Old Goshen" settlement, near

Edwardsville, Ill.

ritory. Thomas Kirkman was its first preacher. In 1812, when the Illinois circuits passed from the Western Conference to the Tennessee, they numbered seven hundred and sixty-two members.

Four years later, when the circuits, now five in number (Illinois, Okaw, Cash River, Bigbay, and Wabash), were transferred to the Missouri Conference, the membership was nine hundred and sixty-eight. Eight years later the Illinois

Conference was formed, the nine circuits within that State returning a total membership of three thousand two hundred and twelve.

The first Protestant minister who preached west of the Mississippi River is said to have been John Clarke, who, after five years in the Methodist itinerancy, withdrew in 1796 and went West. He entered what is now Missouri in 1798



OLD FRENCH FORT AT ST. LOUIS, MO.

and preached in the settlements. Joseph Oglesby, the preacher on Illinois Circuit, made a similar excursion in 1804 or 1805, and in 1806 John Travis was sent thither by the bishop. He reported one hundred and six members, and in 1807 Jesse Walker and Edmund Wilcox were appointed to man the two trans-Mississippi circuits, "Maramack and Missouri." The early settlers of this State were Frenchmen, of the Romish religion, and Protestants made slow progress. It was not until 1820 that Methodism got a foothold in the chief city. In 1820 Jesse Walker said, after many discouragements, "By the grace of God I will take St. Louis." He could obtain lodgings only at a poor tavern, and an ac-

quaintance whom he met pointed out the folly of the enterprise and urged him to give it up. "I have come," said Father Walker, "in the name of Christ to take St. Louis, and by the grace of God I will do it." After holding two services in a Baptist preaching place he rented an unfinished dwelling house for \$10 a month, furnished its largest room with cast-off benches from the courthouse, and began to

preach on Sundays and teach children and servants week days and nights. The house was soon sold over his head, but he built a small frame chapel, which the vestrymen of a dismantled Episcopal church supplied with Bible, pul-



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF.

THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN MICHIGAN.

pit, cushion, and pews: these last the Methodist converted to his uses by unscrewing the doors. Seventy joined the society the first year, and in 1822 the Missouri Conference met in the city which had so long baffled the itinerants.

Michigan was equally difficult ground to break up. A local preacher named Freeman was heard in Detroit as early as 1803, and in 1804 Nathan Bangs crossed the Detroit River from his circuit in Canada. After the 1812 war Joseph Hickox was appointed to Detroit. He was then the only Protestant preacher in the Territory. He found seven Methodists in "the city of the straits," where William Mitchell, an Irish local preacher, had gathered a class some years before. From this time Michigan has been regularly served by the itinerants.



CHAPTER LVI

Western Circuit Riders

A New Type.—Burke, the Belligerent.—Walker, the Methodist Daniel Boone.—Parker, the Western Cicero.—Jacob Young.
—Blackman.—Collins.—Axley.—Cartwright.—David Young.
—Strange.—Sale.—Quinn.—Shinn.—Lakin.—Smith.—Kobler.

EVER were workmen better fitted for their task than were the circuit riders, who kept pace with the westward advance of the white man and put in the seeds of Christian civilization wherever he cleared the primeval forest or broke the sod of the virgin prairie. Their simple but adequate system of doctrine gave simplicity and directness to their preaching. Their chief literature, besides the Bible, was the works of Wesley and Fletcher, and while they rode the trails to their appointments, or rested beside the backwoodsman's hearth, rare was the treat to receive from London a new number of the Arminian Magazine.

What these theologians lacked in discipline of the schools was compensated by compactness in theological faith. They were men of alert and powerful intellect. But the qualities which gave them distinction, and which must account for their amazing success, were an energy which no physical obstacles could stop, a self-reliance which was remarkable

even in a state of society which threw every man upon his own resources, and hearts brimming with a deep sympathy which made them most welcome guests in the isolated cabins where, in loneliness and homesickness, often in poverty and bereavement, the men and women from the East were laying the foundations of the West.

In New England, and the older communities of the North, Lee and Garrettson and their fellows had to fight their way against an adverse system of theology and in the face of bitter prejudice against the itinerant system of preaching. In the Middle and Southern States, Gatch, Bruce and the Ellises, Easter and O'Kelly, and the rest of "the thundering legion," had swept through communities where the knowledge of true religion had stiffened into formalism ready to spring to life again in the great revivals; but in the West the Methodist pioneers had no time-honored systems to combat and no adverse prejudice to dispel. They were the first, or among the first, on the ground, and the Congregationalist emigrant from New England, the Jersey Presbyterian, and the Pennsylvania Lutheran often found in the fortnightly visits of the Methodist circuit preacher the only representative of the religious institutions which he had left beyond the mountains. The itinerant plan, enabling a few evangelists to cover a wide range of dispersed settlements at small expense, brought the Gospel to the frontiersman's door with a promptness such as no system of settled and salaried ministers could attain without an outlay of home missionary funds not to be thought of in that day of small things.

Of the typical Western evangelist, with his character of rugged strength, impassioned zeal, and fierce hatred of sin, all enriched and sweetened by the most lovable qualities of heart, examples might be given sufficient to fill a volume. Among so many mighty it is difficult to choose the few who must be mentioned.

Surely William Burke cannot be passed by. Virginia gave us this indomitable spirit. At twenty-one he began preach-



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH FURNISHED BY J. M. BARKER AFTER AN ORIGINAL PAINTING.

REV. WILLIAM BURKE.

First presiding elder in Ohio.

ing in the valleys of East Tennessee. The Cherokees were on the warpath, and the auburn-haired young preacher made his rounds at the risk of his scalp. He was soon transferred to Kentucky and assigned to whatever duty most demanded courage and woodcraft. He was a natural captain, and in 1794 commanded the armed escort which brought Asbury through the Indian country from Holston to Kentucky. This year the hardships of his Salt River Circuit of five hundred miles reduced him "to the last pinch." He says, "I had patch upon patch and patch by patch, and I received only money sufficient to buy a waistcoat, and not enough of that to pay for the making." It was Burke who, single-handed, stayed the progress of the O'Kellyite revolt in the Cumberland District, defeated its leaders in public debate, and "saved an almost expiring cause." His skill in controversy made him repeatedly the champion of his cause against the Baptists and Presbyterians, who assailed some of the doctrines dear to his heart. Revivals often followed his preaching, and his voice was powerful in the stirring scenes of the first camp meetings. Most of his itinerant life was spent in Kentucky, the most notable exception being the years 1804 and 1805, when he was presiding elder of Ohio District. After his location in Cincinnati he became judge, and was for many years postmaster. He died at Cincinnati, in 1855, at the age of eighty-five, having been one of the sturdiest defenders of Methodism and for twenty-six years one of the most active and useful preachers.

Jesse Walker was called the Daniel Boone of the itinerancy. He was a North Carolinian, who had been "very wicked" before his conversion, and he entered the ministry at the age of thirty-six encumbered by poverty, illiteracy, and, what was even more rare among the preachers of his day, a wife and children. Governor Reynolds of Illinois remembered him as "a short, well-set man," distinguished for his energy, firmness, and perseverance. "His eyes were blue, small,

and piercing." His complexion sallow, his hair light, his cheek bones prominent, his customary expression cheerful and generous. He was usually dressed in Quaker drab, topped by a light beaver hat "nearly as large as a lady's parasol."

No one describes Walker's preaching as eloquent or profound, but he had unusual skill in touching the emotions of his hearers and leading sinners into the Christian life. The Methodists of Illinois and Missouri look upon him as their father. He not only gained a hearing for his colaborers in St. Louis, but in 1825 he made a flatboat excursion to Chicago and "probably preached the first sermon ever delivered in that not very promising village." Missionary work, which left him free to mark out new circuits, best suited his temperament and talents. Bishop McKendree, who had been his fellow-traveler, and observed his wonderful aptitude for pioneering, once said of him that "as the Church moved West it seemed to bear Jesse Walker before it." On the Cape Girardeau Circuit, about 1810, he held what is said to have been the first camp meeting in Missouri. One who partook of the sacrament on that occasion says that "there were eleven communicants. The wine was squeezed from wild grapes. The Communion table was a puncheon, split from a log and smoothed a little on the upper side, laid on cross ties on four forks stuck in the ground, and covered with a sheet."

Walker was unequaled in looking up newcomers to the Western country, and it sometimes happened that a preacher appointed to strike out a fresh circuit found that the unturing missionary had preceded him at every cabin on his round. Several of his commissions took him into the Indian country, where he was much beloved. He did not locate until the year before his death, in 1835, which resulted from exposure

while attending a camp meeting. The old warrior died in serenity in his seventieth year. Peter Cartwright, whom he licensed to exhort, says of him that he "had lived poor and suffered much; had won thousands of souls over to Christ, and built up and firmly planted Methodism for thousands of miles on our frontier border. . . . We have fought side by side for many years; we have suffered hunger and want together; we have often wept and prayed and preached together; I hope we shall sing and shout together in heaven."

Samuel Parker, who presided on Indiana District from 1808 to 1811, and hurried himself into consumption by the intensity of his application to duty, was born in New Jersey, brought up in the Redstone region and in Kentucky, and entered the Western Conference in 1805. He was a carpenter, "the same trade as Jesus," he used to say, and was gifted with a voice of unusual sweetness and power, which he consecrated to the service of his Master. His songs were scarcely less affecting than his sermons, and such was his fame for both that men came miles to listen to him. In the year of his ordination as elder Asbury placed him in charge of a district comprising the settled portions of three States, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and during his four years of service the membership under his care increased from three hundred and eighty-two to upward of two thousand. In 1819, after exacting labors in Ohio and Kentucky, the bishops selected him to preside over the Mississippi District—perhaps the most onerous service in their gift. When the appointment was read out "a wave of sympathy rolled over the entire Conference." and the brethren crowded up to grasp his hand for the last time, for there was little hope of the consumptive's return from the swamps of the lower Mississippi. He reached his field of labor, and died there a few months later, to be mourned as "one of the most lovely and talented of our brotherhood." He was a tall, spare man, with a loosely knit-frame and a hatchet face. "He had a fine intellectual cast



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY J. C. BUTTRE.

MRS. JANE ALLEN TRIMBLE.
Wife of James Trimble, of Highland County, O., and mother of

Governor Allen Trimble of Ohio.

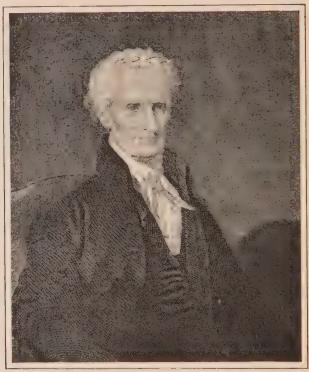
of countenance, expansive forehead, and black, piercing eyes." Finley declares that he was one of the finest of speakers, and his voice was "entrancing."

The long and faithful services of Jacob Young began in these years. He was born in western Pennsylvania and reached manhood in Kentucky, where the words of a preacher arrested his careless course of life and induced him to become a serious and earnest Christian. McKendree called him into the itinerancy in 1802. He was soon set at McKendree's favorite work, namely, the striking out a new circuit in a part of Kentucky hitherto untraversed by the preachers. Toward nightfall, after a long, cold ride through a dreary country infested by wolves, he came upon an isolated cabin. Only the woman and children were about, and she refused to admit the stranger. "I finally concluded," says Young, in his fascinating autobiography, "to let her know who I was. 'I am a Methodist preacher,' I said to her, 'sent by Bishop Asbury to try to form a circuit.' Her countenance changed, and her eyes fairly sparkled. After a moment of silence she exclaimed, 'Has a Methodist preacher come at last? Yes, brother, you shall stay. . . . We will do the best we can for you with a glad heart." And soon the benumbed itinerant was seated by the fire before a savory meal of venison, corn cake, and crop-vine tea.

On this expedition Young found several societies already organized by local preachers and other earnest laymen, and one neighborhood of Baptists, having no regular minister, hailed him "as the Lord's messenger." In some places, though the weather was cold, the settlers' wives came to his meetings hatless and barefoot. Generally he was welcomed cordially, and the poor people were loth to have him go. His success in this pioneer work made him "the happiest of mortals." Ten times he traversed this four weeks' circuit, receiving less than thirty dollars for his year's salary. A fruitful revival, such as he had never seen before and never expected to see again, closed the year.

Learner Blackman came to Kentucky in 1803. He was

born in south Jersey in 1781, and was converted under the first sermon ever preached by his brother-in-law, John Collins, afterward a founder of Cincinnati Methodism. The members of his first charge had heard that the bishop had



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY LONGACRE IN THE ' METHODIST MAGAZINE," 1833

REV. JOHN COLLINS.

sent them a "black man" for a preacher, and even when they saw his white skin they wished he had tarried longer at Jericho. But his will and talent won their way, and at twenty-five the bishops made him presiding elder of the entire Southwest. Of his hardships in this remote region we shall speak in another chapter. Returning to the North in 1808, he continued for seven years as presiding elder of great districts in Kentucky, Tennessee, and adjoining Territories, and was accidentally drowned in the Ohio in 1815, while he was still a young man. He was a tall, slender man, erect in carriage, and somewhat notable among his associates for neatness of dress and suavity of manner. Yet he was as fearless as any man, as firmly wedded to his duty, and as pure in heart.

For plainness of speech and disregard of conventional manners James Axley stands almost by himself-outdone, perhaps, in eccentricity by his bosom friend, Peter Cartwright, who had received him into the Church. He was a Virginian by birth, but grew to manhood in Kentucky, and joined the Western Conference in 1804. He was a rawboned, heavy-voiced man, a typical son of the frontier, a hero to do the roughest work uncomplainingly, wearing the clothes from his back and the flesh from his bones if need were. His rough speech brought laughter or tears at will from his hearers, and few were more popular than he. In 1822, having given eighteen years of self-denying service to the Church in the wilderness, as preacher and elder in Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Ohio, he located as a farmer, and in 1838 he died in peace near Madisonville, Tenn.

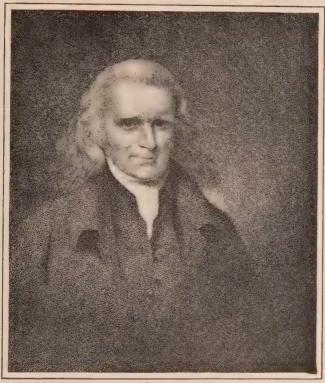
In 1812 the roll of presiding elders first bore the name of Peter Cartwright, which was to remain there for fifty years. He protested to Asbury his lack of fitness for the office, and was low-spirited for a twelvementh because the bishop ignored his resignation. He was now twenty-seven years of age, having been born in Virginia in 1785. The son of a ne'erdo-well father, he grew up in Kentucky to be an unruly and reckless youth, in spite of the tears and prayers of a Metho-

dist mother. In his seventeenth year he was converted in the great union revival on the Cumberland, and at eighteen was licensed to exhort by that kindred spirit, Jesse Walker, and before the year's end had organized the new circuit of Livingston. His extraordinary knowledge of men and his tact in dealing with them had been proved before his admission to the Conference in 1804. Presiding Elder McKendree perceived the strong fiber of the candidate, and took pains to direct his reading and to test his progress in learning. Frances Gaines, his wife, contributed to growth in grace by an amiability, industry, and piety which made his home an earthly paradise. He was "short, thick, heavy-set, with a large head and short neck, coarse and rough in his manners, and anything but grave." He was often abrupt in his intercourse with others, but in his own family was tender and affectionate. One who knew him in his prime tells of his tremendous energy, and says: "I never knew him to get hoarse or to appear tired. He was death upon whisky drinking, tobacco chewing, and coffee drinking; take him altogether, he was one of the most powerful men I ever heard."

Among those whose hearts were strongly warmed during the Cumberland revival was David Young, a Pennsylvania schoolmaster. He began to preach in Tennessee about 1805, and for upward of thirty years was a zealous itinerant and elder in Ohio. Bishop Morris, whom he led into the Church, describes him as "a tall and slender man, whose blond hair fell over his shoulders, and under whose blue eye the stoutest sinner might quail. His shrill voice ruled vast camp meeting audiences, and swayed them like a tempest among the tree tops. He died in 1858, near the close of his eightieth year."

John Strange was one of the great names of Indiana Methodism. He was a Virginian, who fell in with the Metho-

dists in Ohio about 1810, and in the next year he began preaching. Ohio and Indiana were the scene of his toils and successes until his death, in 1832. His figure was impressive, his manner conciliating, his voice, whether in song or ser-



FROM THE ENGRAPING BY LONGACRE IN THE " METHODIST MAGAZINE," 1888.

REV. DAVID YOUNG.

mon, rich, and under masterly control. In the early years of his preaching the Indian wars menaced his safety, but he passed from fort to fort undaunted and alone, often riding up to the portal of a garrison house or stockade, singing, as only he could sing, his favorite hymn:

And are we yet alive?

Bishop Ames declares that Strange was fairly named—"there was a strange attraction in his manner, there was a strange and unearthly power in his thoughts and words that no art could even approach. . . . I should pronounce him unhesitatingly a man of the highest style of genius." Many anecdotes are preserved which prove his quickness of wit and eccentric sayings. Once, as he was dilating on the free gift of grace, a miserly auditor became vociferous in his re-



REV. JOHN SALE'S COMMISSION AS ELDER.

sponses, even interrupting the discourse with the exclamation: "Yes, bless the Lord, religion is cheap. I've belonged to the Methodist Church these twenty years, and it has only cost me twenty-five cents." The orator paused, leaned his long body far over the pulpit, and fixing his eye on his victim, said significantly, "God bless your stingy old soul!" and then went on with his sermon. Strange was himself reckless in pecuniary matters, though he had the care of a large family. A benevolent friend sought to relieve his

necessities by the gift of a quarter section of farm land, but on the next round over his circuit the preacher returned the



REV. JAMES QUINN.

deed, saying that its possession made him unhappy, since he could no longer truthfully sing,

No foot of land do I possess.

John Sale, who had labored a few years in his native Virginia, came West in 1799, and spent nearly thirty years

on circuits and districts of Ohio and Kentucky. His presence won respect and regard. Chief Justice McLean, the discriminating critic of many itinerants, knew him well and ranked him high. "I never heard him," he says, "without . . . the conviction that, among all the men known to me at that early period, I should have selected him as the man to fill up, under all circumstances, the measure of his duty." He organized in 1804 the first Methodist church in Cincinnati, where John Collins, a layman, had already gathered the Methodists in a store loft and preached to them. Sale died at his post in 1827, greatly lamented, with the ecstatic words on his lips: "My last battle is fought, and the victory sure! Hallelujah!"

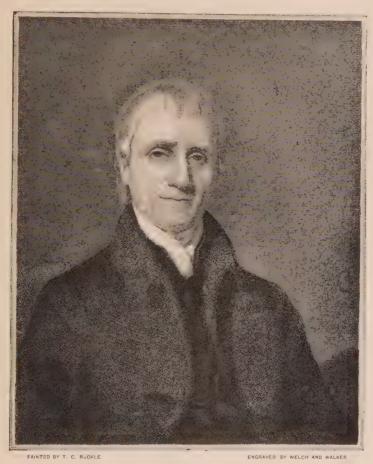
James Quinn, born in 1775 and died in 1847, an Irish farm laborer until he became preacher, gave forty years of careful husbandry to ministerial work in Ohio.

Asa Shinn, born in 1781 and died in 1853, whose only preceptor was a sailor, and who never saw an English grammar until after he became a preacher, did good work in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and elsewhere, and at the time of his withdrawal to enter the Methodist Protestant Church had gained high repute for intellectual power.

Benjamin Lakin, born in 1767 and died in 1849, was one of the cyclonic evangelists of the great revival in Kentucky, and after twenty years of itinerating continued for thirty years longer laboring regularly as a local preacher.

Henry Smith, born in 1769, one of the pioneers of the Northwest Territory, retired after an active ministry of over forty years. He died in his ninety-fourth year.

John Kobler, born in 1768 and died in 1843, the first preacher sent to Ohio, lived to a ripe old age in Virginia, and in the last year of his life revisited the scenes of his missionary labors in Ohio. The changes wrought in that State by forty years were overwhelming. There were now one hundred thousand Methodists in a State where he had



REV. HENRY SMITH.

once seen all the members kneeling at one Communion table. "Where we once preached in log cabins we now see stately churches. . . . This is indeed the Lord's doing."



CHAPTER LVII

In the Natchez Country

TOBIAS GIBSON'S JOURNEY.—EARLY DAYS IN MISSISSIPPI.—A LONELY WORKER.—THE OPENING OF ALABAMA.

HE snows of the winter of 1798-99 had scarcely melted when a travel-worn horseman rode into a settlement on the Cumberland River near Nashville and inquired his way to a Methodist cabin. The solitary traveler was a young man, tall and slender, with light hair and pale, grave face, in whose black eyes burned the fire of a great soul. His equipment and dress, rather than his manner, which was singularly gentle and refined, declared that he was a typical Methodist preacher.

The stranger was Tobias Gibson. He was on his way from his Conference at Charleston, S. C., to his appointment in "the Natchez country," in the extreme Southwest. The Spanish claim to this territory had been withdrawn in March previous, and the way was now open to bring the Gospel to the several hundred American families who were scattered sparsely along the left bank of the Mississippi from the Walnut Hills, or Vicksburg, to the thirty-first parallel, which then divided the possessions of the United States from the Spanish province of Florida. The chosen missionary was

rarely suited to his work, save for the frailty of his physique. He came of a good South Carolina family, one branch of which had already "gone West," and settled in the Natchez country. Seven years in the itinerancy had proved the loveliness of his character and the effectiveness of his tearful appeals to the unconverted.

At the close of the eighteenth century the vast territory bounded by Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, and the Mississippi was for the most part an unbroken wilderness. The Chickasaws and Choctaws occupied the western portion, and where is now the State of Alabama smoked the lodge fires of the Creek and Cherokee. The white settlements were strung along within fifteen miles of the great river whose tawny flood divided the United States from Louisiana, then a foreign domain.

At the Cumberland settlements Tobias Gibson bartered the horse which had carried him five hundred miles for a light canoe, in which he embarked alone on an inland voyage of a thousand miles more. Drifting and paddling, he came to the broad Ohio, and then out upon the bosom of the Father of Waters, where at length he was picked up and brought to his destination by one of those flatboats, or "arks," which were the characteristic craft of the Western rivers.

Fifteen hundred miles from home Gibson found a warm welcome among his Mississippi kinsmen, and his pleasing address gained him the favor of those Northern settlers of Presbyterian antecedents who formed the most respectable element of the population, and who rejoiced at the arrival of a Protestant minister of whatever denomination.

The Methodist missionary at once set about forming a circuit. Jones, in his History of Methodism in Mississippi, is our authority for his grand work. He rode through all

the settlements from the Florida line to the Walnut Hills, preaching in dwellings and in the few schoolhouses, the only Protestant meetinghouse at the time being Salem, the Baptist chapel, erected in 1798. In a schoolroom at Washington, in 1799, he organized the first Methodist church in the Southwest. The eight original members were Randall Gibson with his wife and sister, young Caleb Worley, William Foster and his wife Rachel, and two African slaves—man and wife. Gibson, who was the preacher's cousin, was appointed to lead the little class. By the end of the Conference year six or eight societies had been formed with a total membership of sixty.

For nearly four years the lonely missionary traveled this isolated circuit. He could not attend the sessions of his Conference in South Carolina, and no presiding elder or bishop crossed the wilderness to bid him Godspeed in his work. A deadly consumption fastened upon his lungs, but his fear was that his death would result in the loss of all the ground that had been gained. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1802, he took the rude horse-path known as the "Nashville and Natchez trace" and journeyed through four hundred miles of Indian country to northern Tennessee, where the Western Conference was in session. Bishop Asbury recognized the brave young Carolinian and threw his arms about his wasted form. The preachers listened to his appeal for helpers, but so rich was the promise of harvest in the West, and so few the reapers withal, that only one young man, Moses Floyd, a Georgian, could be spared for this remote Southwestern corner. Floyd proved inadequate to the work, and the next autumn the heroic Gibson spent the remnant of his failing strength upon a thousand-mile ride through the forest to plead once more before the bishop and the brethren

the cause of Mississippi. "In the habit of a very sick man," writes one who saw him, "he returned to his station with the two helpers whom the bishop granted him." But his own work was ended, and on April 5, 1804, his fearless soul left its shattered tenement. The announcement of his death was greeted with tears in the Western Conference, and the Carolina preachers sobbed aloud over the tidings that their brother had departed. Half a century later a monument was erected over his grave, between Vicksburg and Warrenton, inscribed to the memory of the Father of Methodism in the Southwest.

For three years, 1805-1807, the work on the lower Mississippi was in charge of Learner Blackman, of New Jersey, who, though younger even than his sainted predecessor, was already conspicuous not less for his personal attractions than for his energy and ability. The one circuit became five, forming the district of which he was the first presiding elder. Pioneers were thrown across the river into the realm where the stars and stripes had, since 1803, displaced the banner of France. Yet sickness among the itinerants, the scarcity of local preachers, and the indolence and ignorance of the mixed population kept the membership small, and convinced the stirring presiding elder that this was "the worst country on the continent to get our traveling plan in successful operation." Of the inhabitants he wrote: "The old settlers, who are respectable in many respects, are so rich they are above religion and religion is above them. . . . The poor are mostly very ignorant, so that it is difficult to make an impression on their minds about religion. The black people, who are very numerous, are mostly very wicked. . . . A few of the old inhabitants who hold a mediocrity in life embrace religion and do honor to the cause."

Blackman returned to the States in January, 1808, leaving three times as many Methodists as he found on the district; moreover a substantial brick church was building in Natchez itself, one of the worst haunts on the lower river. He had traveled thirty thousand miles in the saddle, and had preached twelve hundred times since he left his father's home in New Jersey six years previously. In Mississippi he had many opportunities of becoming wealthy, but "the Gospel had to be preached," he says, "money or no money, and I barely had enough money to bear my expenses home to my father's house." After seven years more of conspicuous services as division commander in the Methodist army, which was winning and holding much of the West, the first presiding elder of Mississippi was drowned while crossing a river in June, 1815.

Blackman was succeeded by Jacob Young, in 1807; by John McClure, in 1808–1809; Miles Harper, in 1810; Samuel Dunwody, in 1811; Samuel Sellers, in 1812; after which the circuits of western Louisiana were formed into a district by themselves. About this time "Tombigbee," the germ of the Alabama Conference, was transferred from the South Carolina Conference to the Mississippi District.

At the General Conference of 1812 the Western Conference, which included the whole of Methodism beyond the Alleghanies, was divided, the Southwestern circuits being assigned to the Tennessee Conference. But in November of that year the bishops set off the Mississippi and Louisiana Territories into a separate Conference, the "Mississippi," the first session of which was held November 1–8, 1813, at Spring Hill, Jefferson County, Miss. The ten preachers met in the dwelling of Newet Vick, the whole-hearted local preacher who founded the city of Vicksburg. The

English and Indian war had invested the overland trail with such dangers that it was deemed imprudent for the bishops to come through. In fact, it was not until October, 1816, that Bishop Roberts, the first of his race, visited the Southwest. For three years the isolated band of itinerants continued to hold their annual sessions under their presiding elder, Samuel Sellers. New preachers were raised up from among the converts; the stations were kept supplied; the Book Concern publications being out of reach, a pamphlet of Hymns and Spiritual Songs was prepared, and the work progressed slowly under accumulating disadvantages.

General Jackson's victory at New Orleans in January, 1815, and the news of peace which quickly followed, marked the beginning of a new era. The soldiers came back to their plantations, Indian alarms subsided, the tide of immigration began to set toward the fat lands of the South, and at last the preachers in this section found themselves reenforced by able helpers, and taken under the personal supervision of the bishop. The great four weeks' circuits, based on the river, were extended year by year back toward the east and south, keeping pace with the white settlements as they crept out upon the shrinking borders of the Indian nations and down toward the gulf. When the western half of the Mississippi Territory came into the Union as the State of Mississippi, the Methodist itinerant plan, which had cost so much to set in motion, was permanently established.

Lorenzo Dow, traveling at will through the South in 1803 and 1804, preached the first Methodist sermons in what was then the eastern part of the Mississippi Territory, and is now the heart of the State of Alabama. Between the Alabama and the Tombigbee Rivers he found a sprinkling of white squatters, and gave them the Gospel invitation with his

characteristic originality and force. The settlers, who were chiefly from Georgia and the Carolinas, doubtless included some families who already knew and loved the Methodist way, and it is but natural to suppose that as their numbers increased they desired to have the itinerants visit them regularly. Accordingly the list of appointments on the Oconee, Ga., District of the South Carolina Conference, which began on December 28, 1807, included for the first time the "Tombeckbee" Circuit, with Matthew P. Sturdevant as preacher in charge.

The Minutes make no report of the results of the first year's ministry, but the circuit reappears the next year, traveled by Michael Burdge, a probationer, while his senior reconnoitered the new settlements "on the Chickasawhay, about Mobile, and up the western side of the Alabama." They reported a membership of seventy-one white and fifteen colored, which was further increased the next year when Burdge had John W. Kennon for his colleague. In 1811 the young preachers rejoiced to find among the recent settlers a middle-aged Irish planter who had been a successful itinerant in Virginia, and whose zeal was not diminished now that marriage had forced him to locate. "Father" French's hospitable home, in what is now Clarke County, Ala., became a haven of rest for the preachers, and his exemplary life, not less than his fervid appeals, was instrumental in the conversion of souls.

The Tombigbee settlements were in the heart of the Indian nation, and suffered much in the outbreaks which accompanied our second war with England. At the beginning of that period three preachers, Hobb, Griffin, and Nolley, were sent from South Carolina to reenforce the work in Alabama and Mississippi. Before starting on their twelve

days' journey through the wilderness they called on the governor of Georgia to obtain passports over the United States trail through the Creek Nation. As they turned to leave the apartment Richmond Nolley said: "Stop a moment, brethren. The governor has given us safe passports through the Indian nation. Let us now unitedly ask God to give him a safe passport from this to a better world," and the governor and his secretary knelt with the Methodist preachers while Nolley led in prayer.

Jones, the painstaking historian of these times in his beloved Mississippi Conference, declares that this same Richmond Nolley, the slim and serious Georgian, was the original of the oft-told story of the Methodist and the immigrant without which no history of American Methodism would be complete. Nolley went everywhere, called at every cabin, interviewed every immigrant, and spoke to every child and negro about their spiritual welfare. Following up a fresh wagon trail, he found a family camping for the night on the ground of their future home. The man was unhitching his team when his eye rested on the unmistakable garb and visage. "A Methodist preacher, as sure as I'm born! Have you found me already? They got so thick in Virginia that I moved to the backwoods of Georgia to get rid of their noise; but they came there and got my wife and daughter into their church. I thought when I came to this wilderness it would be a long time before they found me out; but you've overhauled me before I've got my wagon unloaded." The preacher remonstrated with him for his prejudice, and advised him to be at peace with a people whom he could not "Well," said the man, "I give it up. There's the old lady and children getting supper. Go and do what you came to do, and let me go on with my work." Nolley did

not depart without a hopeful word with the good woman, and a prayer in which we may be sure her husband was not forgotten.

The next year this most faithful of itinerants had the company of John Shrock, also from Carolina. He was thickset, tough as a knot, a blacksmith transmuted into a preacher in the fires of a camp meeting revival, and "as zealous and noisy a little Dutchman as you ever saw in a revival meeting." His impulsive temperament often placed him in amusing or unpleasant situations both here and in his subsequent service in Louisiana. The Creeks were on the warpath, and the settlers took refuge in the stockades, but the two preachers continued their rounds, preaching to the families huddled in the forts.

In 1811 the Tombigbee Circuit was detached from its original relation to the South Carolina Conference and placed under the presiding elder of the Mississippi District. Accordingly, in the fall of 1813, Nolley and Shrock had to travel two hundred and fifty miles westward to attend the first Mississippi Conference. They sent ahead of them appointments to preach, and at one night-preaching place they arrived so late that they found the congregation asleep on the floor, where beds had been improvised. The German was for joining them, but the scrupulous Nolley would keep his appointment—some of the people were doubtless awake, and the opportunity of dropping a word or a sentence must not pass. "He sang, prayed, and preached to a congregation covered up in their beds around him," said Shrock, whose zeal stopped at preaching to those who could not hear.

Ira Bird and his colleague, Peter James, who traveled the exposed circuit the following year, 1813-1814, were as faithful and fearless as their predecessors, but on account of the

war, which the exasperated whites now closed with a murderous campaign, the societies actually lost in membership. For a year or two after the treaty the Creek tomahawk was buried with the helve sticking out, and travel west of Georgia was especially hazardous.

Yet, at the beginning of 1816, when the bishop set before the South Carolina Conference the needs of the work in the Mississippi Territory, but declining to require such dangerous duty of any brother, John Lane and Ashley Hewet took their lives in their hands and went in full faith that, if the Lord had need of them, he would see them through. Though they met bodies of armed men fleeing out of the Indian country, they pressed on through it unmolested.

While southern Alabama was being entered from South Carolina the Tennessee preachers were coming in from the north, where, in 1809, Jedediah McMinn was appointed to Flint Circuit, in a region recently open to settlement.

If we seek a monument to the early itinerants of Alabama, we must find it in these figures: Alabama was constituted a Conference in 1832. In 1890 there were 2,271 Methodist societies within the bounds of the State, numbering 242,624 members and owning church property valued at \$2,278,988. The first laborers were poor men, rarely collecting their salaries of \$100 each. As the world ranks men, they were ignorant, though by no fault of theirs; they were eloquent on one theme only; and they left behind them no Journals of their daily toil. Yet the Lord owned their labors marvelously, and the good seed which they sowed so lovingly in storm and sunshine has yielded in these latter days a thousandfold, making Alabama the seventh State in the Union in the number of its Methodist population.



CHAPTER LVIII

Amphibious Circuits

AN OPEN DOOR.—BOWMAN IN NEW ORLEANS.—AN AMPHIBIOUS ITIN-ERANT.—METHODISM LAUNCHED IN LOUISIANA.

HEN Tobias Gibson landed on the left bank of the Mississippi in 1799 the opposite shore was still a province of Spain, and New Orleans, though much visited by American traders, was a European city. Jefferson's purchase in 1803 added this unexplored domain to the United States, and the Methodists were prompt to enter. Lorenzo Dow, who went thither in 1804 to procure mustangs for his next journey, probably preached the first sermon in the new Territory, and brought back some report to Learner Blackman, then elder of the Mississippi District, which led him to secure the appointment of a preacher to travel there in 1805. The bishop named Elisha W. Bowman for the arduous work.

In Louisiana Methodism was confronted by strange and obstinate conditions, which rendered its progress slow and painful to an unusual degree. These obstacles arose from the sparseness of the population, the amphibious character of the country—intersected by lagoons and bayous—the continental frivolity of the gay capital, and the ignorance and

irreligion of the inhabitants, three fourths of whom were of French or Spanish descent and were therefore devoted to Roman Catholic error.

Bowman reached New Orleans in the winter of 1805, after a difficult journey from the Mississippi settlements. The gentleman to whom he brought letters of introduction had left the city, and he found himself friendless in the midst of twelve thousand people, without a Methodist roof to shelter his wearied body. The few respectable Americans had just received a Protestant Episcopalian clergyman from the North, who gave his Methodist brother the cold shoulder. Sunday was a day of traffic and gayety, no door was opened to Bowman, and only a few drunken sailors and wondering Frenchmen stopped to hear him sing and preach outside the city hall. To stay was to starve. To retreat was not the Methodist way. To abandon his commission would be as death. to him. Having heard of American settlements two hundred miles to the westward, he says, "I shook off the dust from my feet against this ungodly city of Orleans, and resolved to try the watery waste and pathless desert." When his opposers in the city heard that he had given up the attempt some congratulated themselves that his cold reception "would relieve them forever from the declamations of these noisy enthusiasts." But a shrewder lawyer declared that they had only seen a scout of the main body, and "the Methodist preachers would never give it up so long as they could get a cowhide to sleep on and sweet potatoes to eat."

Meanwhile the persevering Bowman was pushing westward in quest of a parish. Bitten by insects, mired in cypress bogs, crossing the bayous on rafts, he came to the gulf coast beyond the Teche. He found straggling American settlers who "had not come here for any good deeds they had done."

His funds were reduced to three dollars, but this did not daunt him. "God is as able to feed me two years on two dollars as he was to feed Elijah at the brook." Eighty miles to the northward he came to the rich prairies of Opelousas. The few Americans among the French inhabitants were Roman Catholics, steeped in ignorance and vice and ministered to by a profane and immoral priest. He told them plainly that if they did not mend their ways they and their priest would go to hell together. Wherever it was possible he would collect a few families and preach Christ to them. "I have to teach them to sing, and in fact to do anything that is like worshiping God," he says. "O my God, have mercy on the souls of this people."

The winter rains so flooded the country that he could go no farther. Days and nights he went without a dry thread on his body. His horse's legs were skinned, and his own joints stiff with rheumatism. "But this is nothing," he wrote to his friend, William Burke, far away in Kentucky; "my soul is filled with heavenly fire and longs to be with Christ. . . . I have never enjoyed such a power and heaven of love. . . . I have not a wish but that the will of God may be done in me, through me, and by me."

Blackman, his presiding elder, who went over the same ground—or water—later in the year 1806, wrote of Bowman, "Few preachers have suffered as much in forming circuits in the Western country."

In 1807 a circuit was laid out in northern Louisiana, where Methodist immigrants from Mississippi had formed the nucleus of a society. Bowman was its first preacher. One who knew the region well has given a graphic picture of its difficulties to the traveler: "First came the beautiful lake of Concordia, with its shoals of fish, lounging alligators, and

flocks of wild fowl; then dense canebrakes; then the open swamp, with watermarks on the trees twenty feet above his head; then bridgeless bayous with half-floating bottoms of fathomless mud; small rivers and fordless creeks without ferries, with here and there a beautiful prairie." When having to pass for a mile or two through an overflow of moderate depth the itinerant "would reverse his stirrups, so as to elevate the feet nearly to the pommel of his saddle; then, shouldering his saddlebags, would follow the road by observing the blazes on the trees. Coming to the smaller bayous, he would turn his horse in to wallow in the mud and water as best he could, while he walked a log, with saddle and saddlebags on his shoulder. Encountering the larger streams, he would draw a few old logs to the water's edge, fasten them together with a grapevine, and, having launched them, would add a tier of reversed logs of sufficient height and buoyancy to keep him out of the water; then turning his horse loose, he would deposit himself and equipage in the center of his raft, and with a stick for a paddle he would soon reach the other shore, to find his well-trained horse quietly picking grass. These impromptu rafts were a device of the Indians and were commonly known as "Choctaw logs." For these stately facts, Jones, the historian of Methodism in Mississippi, is our very reliable authority.

Blackman remarked, after his tour of Opelousas and Washita: "Louisiana abounds in insects. Flies, gnats, and mosquitoes swarm in multiplied millions. The poor are mostly very poor and lazy, depending mainly for their subsistence on their stocks of cattle. . . . It was a matter of rejoicing that our labor was not all in vain. Among those poor scattered settlements some were brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and were ready to praise

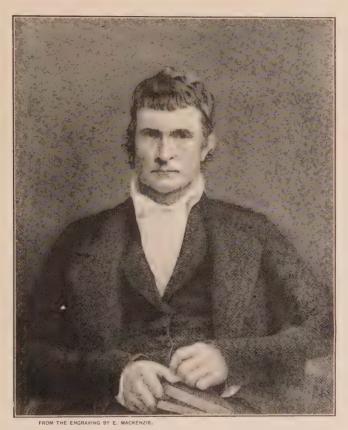
God that he ever sent the Methodist preachers among them. The thought of getting souls for our hire makes us willing to live and die in the harness, and the additional idea of being instrumental in planting the Gospel in a new country that may flourish through future generations is a cause of great joy:"

Opelousas and Washita continued to be the only Louisiana circuits until 1810, when the former, with some additional appointments, was divided into two—Attakapas and Rapides. In 1811 the bishops ventured to appoint a man, Miles Harper, to New Orleans, though that city did not become a regular appointment until 1824. From the former year, however, no Methodist preacher in the city could be without a friend, for Mrs. Ross, the wife of a government official, was from this time "a pious and beautifully consistent member of our Church," and her husband, a Presbyterian elder, was the trusted counselor of the perplexed itinerants. Humbler folk, but not less helpful, were the pious German pair, Jacob Knobb and his wife, in whose rooms in Bienville Street William Winans taught school and preached in 1813 and 1814, while the city was filled with alarms of war.

Bishop McTyeire says that the names Attakapas, Opelousas, Ouachita (Washita), and Rapides "represent more heroism in itinerant history than any other section of the Church." Thomas Lasley, who succeeded Bowman at Opelousas, formed a three weeks circuit of three hundred miles, the preaching appointments in some instances being so far apart that the preacher had to sleep in the woods. James Axley, the third man on this circuit, was the typical frontier preacher—self-reliant, quick-witted, strong-armed, always saying and doing things which made his name the talk of the day. His own hands squared the logs for Axley's Chapel, the first that was

built in southwestern Louisiana, and the money provided by his friends to renew his ragged garments went to dress planking for the floor.

When Richmond Nolley was sent to Attakapas and John



REV. WILLIAM WINANS, D.D.

Shrock to Rapides, in 1813-14, two marked figures appeared in Louisiana. They had been together among the Tombigbee settlements, but, except in their self-denying devotion to the cause, they were men of very different type.

Shrock, the squat German blacksmith, was of an ardent temperament, and bold as a lion. At Alexandria, when he had offended a party of planters' sons, they threatened to duck him in Red River if he durst preach in that town again. He took this as a call to duty, and rode up to the courthouse, his preaching place, at the time appointed, but kept his loaded whipstock near at hand while he knelt to pray with open eyes. Before giving out his text he spoke of the threats which had been made, and said he was ready to meet his "I was brought up a blacksmith," he continued, and turning up his sleeve over the knobs of muscle on his arm, and loosening his shirt collar to exhibit his brawny neck, he demanded of his hearers whether they thought that God had given him such muscular powers to let a set of ruffians run over him in a free country for simply doing his duty as a minister. He intended to think what he pleased, speak what he thought, and quit when he was done. After this spirited prelude he preached his sermon without interruption, making an impression from which is dated the cordial reception of our ministers in that region.

Another anecdote is narrated of this impulsive evangelist. One Sabbath morning, while on his way to an appointment, he found the water of the river so high that the ford was impassable. Unwilling to disappoint the congregation gathered on the opposite bank, he tethered his horse, and, doffing hat, cont, and shoes, swam across the stream, and just as he was, wet and half clad, preached a rousing sermon, with such fruit that he "judged that God's blessing was upon his extraordinary effort to serve the people."

Nolley, though unflinching in the face of danger, was of a meek spirit, careful of the minor points of creed and discipline. In his effort to keep his body under he diminished his vital force by scant allowance of sleep and food until he broke down under the hardship of a four-hundred-mile circuit. His slender health exposed him to the rough treatment that Shrock seemed to court. Once, when the hood-lums of St. Martinville seized him in the midst of a sermon, and would have thrown him into the bayou, a negro woman with a hoe saved him out of their hands, threatening "to weed out the last one of them" if they did not loose him. "Dar now, preach much as you please; dey sha'n't hurt you," she said, as she convoyed him back to his waiting congregation.

His self-denial, perhaps, hastened his death. He was traveling through the swamps on a wintry day in 1814, on his return from Conference to Attakapas. In attempting to cross a swollen creek he was drenched to the skin, and had to walk and wade two miles to the nearest house. Weakened by fasting—for it was Friday, a day on which he never tasted food—he despaired of reaching shelter, and after kneeling for a time in prayer he stretched himself on the ground at the root of a pine tree and waited peacefully for the death that stole so gently over him. The simple, holy life had lasted but thirty years, seven of which were given unreservedly to the ministry of the South.

By such men as Bowman, Lasley, Axley, Winans, Hobbs, Harper, Griffin, and Ford were the foundations of Louisiana Methodism laid in bitter toil. While the missionaries of the Northwest were receiving a bountiful wage of souls the preachers of the Southwest saw sinners converted singly and by twos and threes. The State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812, but for years two preachers were all that the people could support. Once it was even proposed to withdraw these, and send them to more responsive fields.

"What!" protested Ashley Hewet, "and lose the little won by so much privation? What will become of the poor sheep in the wilderness?" So the preachers kept on coming, local preachers were raised up, faithful class leaders nurtured the converts, and the sure reward has long since been attained. There is no section of the country, however, in which the work of an evangelist has been done under more embarrassing conditions, and perhaps none in which the results of unflinching devotion have been more satisfactory.



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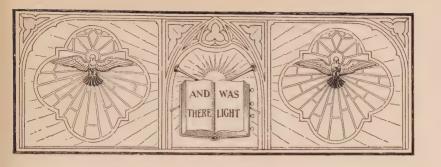
Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L. (Oxon.)

BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND FOUNDER OF WESLEYAN MISSIONS.

From the portrait in the Mission Rooms, New York.







CHAPTER LIX

"Life's Work Well Done"

COKE'S LAST VISITS.—TRAITS AND INCIDENTS.—BISHOP WHATCOAT.— HIS BEATIFIC CHARACTER.

HOMAS COKE'S teeming brain gave him no rest.

Missionary enterprises sufficiently novel, and for the times quite extraordinary, engaged his energies, already deeply concerned with the condition of Wesleyan Methodism in England, Ireland, and Wales and in the United States. Though in name a joint superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, his visits to this country became less frequent after Wesley's death. From this time he seldom saw an Annual Conference, though he was present and active in every General Conference from 1792 to 1804.

Coke's brief visit in 1792 proved to him the emptiness of O'Kelly's outcry against Asbury. In the General Conference of 1796 the two bishops made impressive exhibition of their unity of feeling. Asbury's health being frail, Coke agreed to come to his assistance. "I offer myself to my American brethren," he wrote, "entirely to their service, all I am and have, with my talents and labors, in every respect." During Asbury's lifetime, however, Coke was to have full power to station the preachers only in the absence of his colleague

and with his consent. With this understanding he returned to the old country to close up his affairs there and transfer his energies to the New World. But the change of base was never made. The brethren in England were up in arms at the thought of losing this invaluable man, and after a few months he reappeared in Virginia with the request of the British Conference that he be relieved from his American engagement. Asbury granted such temporary release as he could, at the same time astounding the ears of his insular brethren with his tale of the magnitude and magnificent distances of the American work, and concluding, "We have only one worn-out superintendent, who was this day advised by the yearly Conference to desist from preaching till next spring on account of his debilitated state of body."

Coke came over again to attend the General Conference of 1800, where he assisted at the consecration of Richard Whatcoat to the episcopacy and preached the ordination sermon. Again the matter of his agreement to reside in America came up, and again he was "lent for a season" to the old country Methodists, with the proviso that he should return certainly at the next General Conference. In fact, he came in 1803, and made a comprehensive tour of the American branch of Methodism before that assembly convened. This was his ninth visit to America, and the last. After recrossing the Atlantic in 1804 he never again saw its western shores.

The ten years of life which remained to Coke were filled to the brim with activities. Since 1784 he had been the embodiment of zeal for foreign missions, planning expeditions to the West Indies, Africa, and India, soliciting funds, often by house-to-house visitation, selecting missionaries and carrying on in his own person a work which might have en-

gaged the energies of an organized society with salaried secretaries. Giving ungrudgingly from his private purse, he provoked others to similar generosity.

Coke's last great undertaking was the establishment of a Wesleyan mission in India. Ceylon was selected for the beginning, and in December, 1813, he sailed from England, with his company of volunteer preachers, to carry the Gospel to the East. Already far beyond the lot of most men he had obeyed the Great Commission. In Britain and America and among the black slaves of the Antilles Coke's name was known and blessed. But the end of his work had come. On the evening of May 2, 1814, he had felt slightly indisposed. The next morning a servant entering his cabin found his lifeless body stretched upon the floor. A stroke of apoplexy had summoned him to the God whose service was his highest joy. In the evening of the same day the last rites were performed, and the body which had templed the soul of Thomas Coke was placed in a shotted coffin and sunk to the bottom of the sea. The coral beds of the Indian Ocean became his mausoleum, while the ceaseless murmur of the waves became his funeral dirge. Is it any wonder that India has ever since been an attractive mission field for the heart of universal Methodism?

The history of Methodism in both hemispheres cannot be written without large mention of the name of Thomas Coke. He was a pleasing preacher; a writer of respectable talents; but somewhat too erratic and willful to shine as a great ecclesiastic. His chief accomplishment of good may be traced to his zealous purpose, and his resourceful and indefatigable energy, to extend the knowledge of God's grace. Adam Clarke declares that missions were "his meat and his drink," and that his labors were "rare and scarcely paral-

leled." Asbury, speaking of his fallen comrade, pronounced him "a gentleman, a scholar, and a bishop, and, as a minister of Christ, in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man in the last century."

"At our General Conference held at Baltimore, Md., May 6, 1800, I was elected and ordained to the episcopal office."



COKE MEMORIAL CHURCH AND SCHOOL, BRECON, WALES.

In these words of characteristic modesty Richard Whatcoat records his own election to the episcopal office. The burden of the superintendency of a Church now extending from Maine to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, had become too great for a single pair of shoulders, upon which physical infirmities now bore heavily. Asbury was conscious of his deficiencies, and had recommended to the New England Conference of 1797 the appointment of Jesse Lee and Francis Poythress as his assistant bishops. This proposition failing, he came up to the General Conference of

1800 with a proposal to resign his office. By the unanimous entreaty of the brethren, however, he reconsidered his determination. The choice of his colleague is said to have been attended with excitement. Three ballots were required. The first resulted in no choice. The second was a tie. The third elected Richard Whatcoat, an Englishman, by a majority of four over Jesse Lee, the jovial Virginian.

Whatcoat was now in his sixty-fifth year. Since his arrival in America with Coke and Vasey, in 1784, he had won his way to the hearts of the preachers and the societies by the unaffected holiness of his life and the meekness and unruffled sweetness of his demeanor. Even Wesley's unpopular action in attempting to dictate his election to the superintendency in 1786 did not disturb his relations with the American preachers. He asked no favors and received none, laboring acceptably as circuit preacher, and throwing himself unsparingly into the work on the extensive districts which he traveled. Revivals are the only incidents of the work on which he dilates in his modest Memoirs. Those spiritual outpourings which often crowned his loving appeals were his highest joy. "Holiness of heart and life" was his unvarying theme, a doctrine which he enforced by a remarkable acquaintance with Scripture, and which his own practice signally illustrated. Under his preaching "many were suddenly struck with convictions and fell to the ground in a state of insensibility, after a while standing up and praising God as though heaven had come into their souls; others were as much concerned for a clean heart and as fully delivered."

On May 18, 1800, the new bishop was consecrated, Coke and Asbury officiating, assisted by several elders. His first Conference, at Duck Creek, Del., was attended by a revival

which brought more than one hundred souls into the local society. After holding the Northern Conferences he set out in company with Asbury on a journey of thirteen hundred miles into Kentucky and Tennessee, where the revival on the



RICHARD WHATCOAT.
Third bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1800-1806.

Cumberland was in progress. Of his first sight of a camp meeting he said, "It is truly pleasing to see so many gathered together under the stately beech trees to worship and adore the great Creator and Redeemer of mankind." Thence he proceeded by dangerous mountain trails to Georgia and South Carolina, where the Conference met at Camden, January 1, 1801. In May they were again in Baltimore, having completed a circuit of forty-two hundred miles.

Asbury under Dr. Physick's care in Philadelphia, in June, 1801, Whatcoat took the Northern Conferences, traveling over five hundred miles to Lynn, Mass., thence southwest nearly eight hundred miles through New York and Central Pennsylvania to Maryland, on which route he "found a people to preach to in most places more or less by day or night." Here he met his fellow-bishop, and parted, August 29, to meet in Georgia two months later, Asbury traveling by way of the transmontane Conferences and Whatcoat crossing Virginia and the Carolinas. Three thousand seven hundred and seven miles was the year's record of this homeless bishop, now in his sixty-sixth year and afflicted by disease which rendered travel exceedingly painful.

In 1802 the bishops journeyed together to the Maine Conference. Thence Asbury set out for Tennessee, while his associate crossed northern New England and central New York to Lake Erie, through a country "thinly settled, partly by white people and partly by Indians." Then Whatcoat went southward to the Ohio, and thence eastward to Georgetown, Va., a circuit of one thousand seven hundred and sixteen miles. An additional trip to southern Virginia brought the mileage of his sixty-seventh year to three thousand seven hundred and seven, amid "considerable afflictions, which have severely shaken this house of clay."

The house of clay was crumbling fast. After traveling thirteen hundred miles in the summer of 1803, tortured by a terrible disease, Whatcoat yielded to the advice of Asbury and rested in Baltimore until the General Conference of May, 1804, but preaching every Sabbath during most of the nine months. Somewhat recuperated, he again took up his responsibilities, and, Asbury succumbing to a fever, he made a painful journey through the West and South, and thence to the North in company with his beloved colleague. The invalid's mileage for the twelvemonth was three thousand four hundred and sixteen.

On June 12, 1805, at Ashgrove, N. Y., the two bishops embraced each other and parted, Asbury going to New England and his friend to the West. Whatcoat's Memoirs outline his route as far as the Ohio near Wheeling, and close with these words: "I have great reason to bless God, who has preserved me these many years as an itinerant preacher, during which time he hath delivered me from many afflictions of body and mind."

Though the septuagenarian bishop survived this wilderness trip, it proved his last. He made his last appearance before the preachers at the Philadelphia Conference in April, 1806. Soon afterward his malady became so acute that further travel became impossible. Under Governor Barratt's hospitable roof at Dover, Del., he lingered for three months in feebleness extreme. With dim eyes and trembling fingers he wrote to Coke: "I have filled up seventy years among the living, and now bless God that ever I was born, and especially that I was born again. My soul is looking out for a happy eternity." Two days before his last he burst into tears in the presence of Henry Boehm, the kind preacher of that circuit. Recovering himself, he said, "I have been thinking of the many pious people I have known in Europe and America, and what a glorious time we shall have when we meet in heaven." On July 5, 1806, he died.

Whatcoat was in his later years a man of fine presence. His figure was of good height and well fleshed. His complexion long retained its English freshness, and his placid countenance betokened the calm within. Never severe, he charmed the preachers with the simplicity and dignity of his manner of presiding in Conference, and delighted them with the kindness and cordiality of his personal intercourse. Though he attained high office too late to leave the stamp of his individuality upon the Church, the influence of his unspotted life and single-hearted devotion rested as a benediction upon the preachers and people.

In Whatcoat's death Asbury lost the friend of a lifetime. "I have known him intimately for nearly fifty years," he said in his funeral discourse, "and tried him most accurately in respect to the soundness of his faith. I have known the holy manner of his life; his attention to duty at all times, in all places, as a Christian and as a minister; his long-suffering and endurance in great affliction of body and of mind having been exercised with severe diseases and great labors. But these did not abate his charity—his love of God and man. He bore with resignation and patience great temptations, bodily labors, and inexpressible pain. In life or death he was placid and calm; as he lived so he died."

The obituary notice in the Conference Minutes, 1807, thus concludes: "He professed the justifying and sanctifying grace of God, and all that knew him well might say, 'If a man on earth possessed these blessings, surely it was Richard Whatcoat."



CHAPTER LX

An American Bishop

A SERMON THAT ELECTED A BISHOP.—MCKENDREE'S CONVERSION.—
THE ELDER OF THE WEST.—TRAITS AND INCIDENTS.

N the Sunday morning previous to the assembling of the General Conference of 1808 in Baltimore the historic church in Light Street was filled with preachers and people to hear a stranger out of the far West. To the offending of some delicate brethren he came into the pulpit in his coarse backwoods garb, and between his homespun waistcoat and smallclothes yawned a gap through which glowed his shirt of honest red flannel. There was, moreover, a twang in his speech that fell unpleasantly upon sophisticated ears. But "when he got fairly into his subject he bore down all before him. The congregation was overwhelmed; there were sudden shrieks of distress, then shouts of joy; many were bathed in tears; some were prostrated in their pews; a large athletic preacher fell upon his seat as if pierced by a bullet."

The orator in the pulpit was William McKendree, for the past eight years presiding elder of enormous districts between the mountains and the Mississippi. As the admiring people gathered about the speaker, Asbury, who had been an at-

tentive auditor, said to a friend, "That sermon will make him a bishop."

There was pressing need of "strengthening the episcopacy." Coke's visits to the American Church had ceased. Whatcoat, whom the Conference had placed by Asbury's side in 1800, had himself broken under the strain and left the pioneer superintendent bowed down by the weight of the continent.

In the General Conference of 1808 the proposition for diocesan bishops—one to each Conference—had strenuous advocates. The members decided for the continuance of a general superintendence, and on the ballot for the election of one new bishop ninety-five voices out of one hundred and twenty-eight were given for William McKendree. On May 18 he was consecrated, Asbury being assisted in this service by the veteran elders, Jesse Lee, Freeborn Garrettson, Thomas Ware, and Philip Bruce.

With the consecration of his colleague, Asbury, whose sixty-third year was now closing, heaved a sigh of real relief. "The burden is now borne by two pair of shoulders instead of one; the care is cast upon two hearts and heads," he wrote, and not in vain phrase. His infirmities were increasing, and the strong arms of McKendree had more than once lifted him from his saddle when his rheumatic limbs failed under him.

Coke sent warm congratulations from Wales to the new chief pastor. "I am persuaded," he wrote, "God has chosen you to help my dear brother, and that you will go with him in perfect union in blessing the American continent under divine grace. . . . Go on, brother, walking with God and united to him. Your field is great. You have perhaps ten thousand pulpits open to you. But the grand point

which must be engraven continually on your forehead, as it were, and on your heart, is the harmony and union of the Methodist Connection in America. God bless you!"

McKendree has recorded his own feelings on the occasion: "Deeply conscious that I did not possess qualifications adequate to the important station, yet confident of support from my brethren, and relying on divine aid, I reluctantly and tremblingly submitted."

The gust of pulpit eloquence which, it is sometimes said, wafted William McKendree into the bishop's seat could not have taken up a man better fitted for the work. The time had come for the American Church to have a native superintendent. McKendree's birth and early surroundings were in Virginia, and no man in America excelled him in keen vision and knowledge of the opening West. The exigencies of the task demanded a hand as firm as Asbury's, but with a glove of velvet. The future of Methodism as a Church of glowing spirituality and revival power could not be intrusted to one more worthy than he who had tasted the joys of salvation in the pentecostal outpourings of John Easter's day in southern Virginia, and who had been the directing mind of Western Methodism during the progress of the great awakening on the Cumberland.

William McKendree was born in King William County, Va., July 6, 1757. He was brought up on his father's plantation, receiving such education as the rustic schools afforded. He fought with the Virginia militia against Cornwallis, and was a commissary to the allies at Yorktown. In his youth he had been under strong religious impressions, and even belonged for a brief season to a Methodist society, from which he was drawn away by his attachment to worldly associates. Ten years later he was caught up by the revival flame which

swept through the Brunswick Circuit. He has himself narrated the attendant circumstances. He was wasting a Sabbath in wine and frivolous reading at the house of a friend, when the wife of the latter returned from church excited by



WILLIAM MCKENDREE.

Fourth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1808 1835.

what she had seen and heard—tears and groans, men and women falling to the floor, shouts and cries. John Easter was to preach on Tuesday. McKendree's heart was touched by her story. "I resolved to seek religion," he says, "and began in good earnest to pray for it that evening." "Fast-

ing and praying," he went to hear Easter, and for three days could get no peace. On Friday evening, "while Mr. Easter was preaching I was praying as well as I could, for I was almost ready to despair of mercy. Suddenly doubts and fears fled, hope sprung up in my soul, and the burden was removed. I knew that God was love, that there was mercy even for me, and I rejoiced in silence."

For some weeks he was still exercised over his condition, doubting the certainty of his conversion. But finally, while at service, "the Lord, who is merciful and kind, blessed me with the witness of the Spirit; and then I could rejoice indeed—yes, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. . . . I pity those who . . . are led to give the preference to a doubting experience, and therefore can only say, 'I hope I am converted,' . . . but can never say, 'We know that we have passed from death unto life.'" His happy conversion was crowned soon after by an overwhelming sense of the divine presence.

McKendree was soon telling the story of his deliverance to his acquaintances. "Tell it abroad," said his father; "the Lord has called you." Easter urged it strongly, and took the young man to Conference at Petersburg with him. He was shocked to find his name in the list of appointments, with Philip Cox, on the Mecklenburg Circuit. He hesitated until his friendly elder, the impulsive Celt, O'Kelly, took him in his arms, and in the most feeling manner said, "While you were standing before the Conference I believe God showed me that he had a work for you to do." This determined his unsettled mind, and his distinguished career as a preacher dated from that hour.

After five years on various circuits on O'Kelly's district he followed the pugnacious presiding elder out of the Methodist

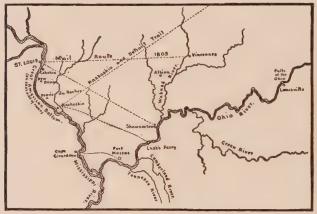
Episcopal Church in his revolt against what he termed the grinding tyranny of Asbury. The bishop thought the young rebel worth reclaiming, sought him out, and brought him back repentant. After two more years in the ranks, where he was rigid in the enforcement of discipline, but generally popular, McKendree became presiding elder of great districts in Virginia and Maryland. Asbury watched him, traveled with him, noted his firmness and tact, and in the fall of 1800 fixed upon him to take command of a forward movement in the West which should carry Methodism into the virgin country northwest of the Ohio.

At three hours' notice McKendree packed his saddlebags, bade farewell to the Old Dominion, and set out with the two bishops for Kentucky. The work in the West was consolidated into a single Conference—the "Western"—composed of a single district, with William McKendree as presiding elder at the head of a band of unflinching preachers.

The eight years in which McKendree directed the work beyond the mountains were critical for Western Methodism. It was an era of revivals, of camp meetings, of uncurbed enthusiasm, of entangling denominational alliances, of multitudinous migration, and of unprecedented extension. Ohio had just been entered, 1799, and before McKendree received his just promotion Illinois, Missouri, and Indiana had heard the Gospel from the lips of his missionaries. His energy was irresistible, and the ardor of his religious spirit was in keeping with the glowing fervor of the times, but good sense tempered all his actions and utterances, and his influence throughout the vast field was powerful and pervasive. A man among men, he commanded the respect of all, and with him to lead into the most difficult fields none feared to follow. In the absence of a bishop in 1804 he had

been permitted to station the Western preachers, a delicate task which he performed with discretion and justice, and in 1807 his tour of duty, exceeding that of his apostolic father, had taken him from Kentucky across Illinois and into Missouri, a wilderness ride of two thousand seven hundred miles, the route being marked by revival fires.

Within his eight years of official service in the West



FROM THE MAP IN "THE CHAUTAUQUAN."

EARLY TRAILS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

McKendree, supported by a corps as faithful as ever followed a hero to battle, had seen the Church in Kentucky increase threefold in numbers, while the population had only doubled. His single district had become five, and the two thousand four hundred and eighty-four members west of the mountains had multiplied to fifteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven, and it was forever settled that the Methodist Episcopal Church was to be a significant factor in forming the religion and morals of the great States of the Mississippi basin.

The newly elected bishop was in his fifty-first year. His appearance won the eye. A little under six feet in height,

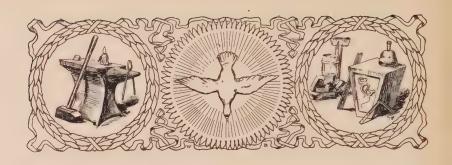
well proportioned, weighing at this time about one hundred and sixty pounds, his motions revealing strength and agility, his face fair but bronzed by exposure, his hair dark, and his large eyes so deeply blue that many spoke of them as "black." A man of natural dignity, he was, nevertheless, open and unaffected in his manner with all, and the love of children was strong within him, though he died a bachelor.



MC KENDREE CHAPEL, NEAR JACKSON, CAPE
GIRARDEAU COUNTY, MO.

First Methodist church west of Mississippi River. The chapel is built of huge poplar logs. Annual Conferences were held here, 1819, 1821, 1826, 1831, under Bishops George, Roberts (twice), and Soule.

As a presiding officer the American bishop introduced new order and system into the dispatch of business. It was he who initiated, at the General Conference of 1812, the custom of presenting an episcopal address upon the state of the Church. Standing in a new relation to the preachers, who had come to look upon Asbury with almost a filial awe, he won their respect and honor by his sympathy and justice and by the sincerity of his devotion to the Church.



CHAPTER LXI

An Original Pair

INDIVIDUALITY OF THE PREACHERS.—LORENZO DOW.—JOHN ADAM GRENADE, THE WILD MAN OF THE WEST.

HE strong individuality which marked the early preachers of Methodism was the natural outgrowth of a system which took up men from every station in life and, without previous training in seminaries or under masters, thrust them out upon their own resources. The Methodist books which were their constant companions supplied a common fund of doctrine and argument, but beyond the instruction contained in the Discipline, and an occasional counsel or caution from some colleague or presiding elder, the young preacher was left to his own sense of propriety and effectiveness. The result was to encourage a degree of self-reliance which, while producing in many cases strong and powerful characters, not seldom laid the itinerant open to the charge of eccentricity. Yet it must be borne in mind that the people who talked most glibly of the "crazy Methodists" were generally those who were destitute of Christian life, and the preachers were oftenest called eccentric in a region where it was considered bad form to preach without notes, sacrilegious to provoke laughter in a congregation, and flat popery to kneel in prayer.

Lorenzo Dow was the oddest offspring of American Metho-



FROM THE ENGRAVING IN "PERAMBULATIONS OF COSMOPOLITE."

LORENZO DOW.

Preacher, author, and pioneer; one of the most eccentric and celebrated of the early American itinerants.

dism, and, though his connection with the Church was slight, the opprobrium which his peculiarities evoked was often vented upon our innocent preachers. When Lorenzo was a youth on a Connecticut farm, rendered morbidly despondent

by his fears of "reprobation," his soul was set at peace through the preaching of Hope Hull, the eloquent Southerner. Young as he was, sickly, untaught, uncouth, Dow believed himself called to preach. His superiors told him that he lacked "health, gifts, grace, learning, and sobriety," and four times the elders ordered him to desist, until at length, in 1798, the substantial "fruits" which had crowned his irregular labors induced the Conference to take him on trial. He was already known as "Crazy Dow," from his eccentricity of dress, manner, and speech. He would stand with his back against the door of the preaching place to prevent his hearers from escaping from under his stinging words. He would call down the wrath of heaven upon individuals who turned a deaf ear to his appeals. His zeal carried him to great lengths. He would stop at every house along the road and warn the inmates in the plainest terms that they must repent or perish; he had dreams, and saw visions, and ventured to prophesy upon their warrant. Many stories were told of his shrewdness. A maidservant told him she "had no time to pray, but would do so if he could get her the time." He flung a dollar into her lap, to buy a day's release from her duties, and then held her to her promise. Her conscience would not let her off. She prayed, read her Bible, and found peace.

In a locality where the cause had declined Dow declared that, since the word of God had failed, his next text should be from the word of the devil. A few were shocked, but many curious came to hear, and he preached an effective discourse from "And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine."

A nature like Lorenzo Dow's was not to be kept within ecclesiastical metes and bounds, and before the end of his year of trial he was off for Ireland, without permission, on a plea of failing health. On the return voyage in 1801 he "felt it to be his duty to travel the continent at large, to speak on certain points which he conceived to be in the way to the no small injury of Christ's kingdom." Accordingly he left the circuit to which he was appointed and ran away to Georgia, where he began that life of a roving evangelist in which he continued many years.

In the opening decades of the century the name of Lorenzo Dow was sufficient to attract a throng to any camp meeting. The newspapers repeated his antic sayings, and stories of his queer actions were current everywhere from Maine to the Mississippi and beyond. Wherever the white settlements sprang up Dow was sure to make his appearance, and in at least two States, Alabama and Louisiana, he has the credit of preaching the first Protestant sermon.

Dow would send out a string of appointments, over a route of a thousand miles or more, naming the place, day, and hour when he would preach, perhaps a year in the future. Prompt to the hour he would ride into the settlement on a rackabone nag, himself one of the homeliest pieces of humanity eye ever looked upon. He was of good height, but very thin. His scrawny beard covered his chest, and curls of light brown hair dangled upon his shoulders. Sunny blue eyes peered out above cheeks horribly pitted by smallpox. If his friends had been generous, his clothing was whole; but his linen was usually soiled, travel in the wilderness left his garments in rags, and for want of shoes and socks the feet in the stirrups were bare. Unpleasant to look upon, and coarse in word and action, his rough eloquence often stirred the

people, and many a presiding elder rejoiced when Dow came to hold camp meetings in his district. His chief delight was in heaping ridicule upon the Calvinistic doctrine of election



FROM THE ENGRAVING IN "PERAMBULATIONS OF COSMOPOLITE."

PEGGY DOW.

Wife of Lorenzo Dow, and often the companion of his travels.

and reprobation, which had been the torment of his boyhood. His whimsical name for its advocates was "the 'A-double-L part' people;" for, he said, the Bible says that all may be

saved, and their theory cannot be true unless "A-double-L" spells "part."

Dow took pride in his notoriety, called himself "Cosmopolite," published his journals and other pamphlets, and sold them on his travels. He was a thorn in the side of bishops and lovers of order, though the fruits of his labors, so far as they were permanent, often fell to the Methodist Episcopal Church. They feared that "out of his nest fifty Dows might spring up," and the itinerant plan might be ruined by these rovers. But no such consequence followed. Dow had his strange day, and passed from the stage, leaving not his like.

In one of Lorenzo Dow's Western excursions he met the widow of "the wild man of the West" and endeavored to obtain a copy of his journal. This was doubtless John Adam Grenade, "wild man, poet, and preacher;" one of the peculiar characters that came to the surface on the frontier in the great upheaval on the Cumberland. Grenade was of North Carolina birth and French blood. His early life was gay and profligate, until the sorrowful death of his pious mother steadied him somewhat and he became a schoolmaster. Under deep conviction he burned his cards, stripped the ruffles from his shirt, clipped the hair which had been his pride, gave up his school, and emigrated to Tennessee. For two vears he strove in vain for an assurance of pardon, vexed by awful visions, and going forth into the woods "howling, praying, and roaring in such a manner that he was reputed to be crazy.". As such he gained wide notoriety. At one of the first great union camp meetings, in 1799, "heaven, that I thought was forever sealed against me, was suddenly opened. . . . Streams of glory divine poured in upon me, and I went all over the encampment until midnight praising Him who had brought me such deliverance."

Grenade's ribald poetry and his deep melancholy had been the talk of the frontier communities. Now he gave up his school that he might go everywhere and preach; he began to write spiritual songs that were widely sung in the great

COSMOPOLITE'S MUSE.

O THAT poor sinners did but know,
What I for them do undergo!
From God Pm c IPd to bear the news,
To Heathens, Gentiles, and the Jews. To Heathens, Gentiles, and the Jews.
Permit me one thing you to tell,
Which my poor heart doth often deel;
Pvo left behind my friends, my all,
Upon poor sinners for to call!
Gen I stop now with my theme!
Gen people think 'tis but a dream'
How often times my heart is broke;
Because my parents are forsook!
It's now and then I do them see;
Which a small comfort is to me. Which a small confort is to me;
But with them soon must part again.
Which gives to my poor heart lives pand.
But this and all I undergo:
I have to face cold winds and same; And often through the desert run;
And often through the desert run;
To seek my Master's Son a Arnie!
Often with hunger I grow hand
Riding a distance almost spent,
My money's out I cannot buy:
Was I to offer now and die! In suffey webes t often path; Smothers arise and make me frint! The secreting sun beats down so fair. I long for one sweet heeath of air! The clouds arise and thunders brake, I feel the ground beneath me shake;

PHOTOGRAPAED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE METHODIST LIBRARY, NEW YORK LORENZO DOW'S POETRY.

A fragment of his versified introduction to A Collection of Camp Meeting Hymns, Selected by Peggy Dow.

revivals; he entered the barrooms of taverns and warned their rough occupants to flee from the wrath to come: he interrupted a company of dancers with the declaration that if they did not repent and quit frolicking they would all go to hell; he spoke to everyone whom he met or overtook on the highway. In the course of a day thus spent on the road to Nashville he says: "As I was riding along the glory of the Lord came down upon me and constrained me to cry aloud for half a mile in praising God. What I saw and felt no mortal tongue can express."

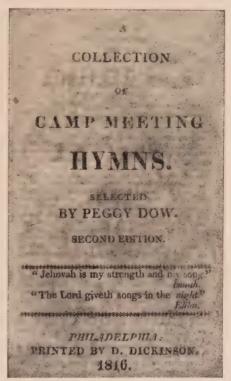
He marked out a cir-

cuit for himself, and "made the canebrakes ring louder with his shouts and praises than he once did with his howling cries." Everywhere his preaching was followed by remarkable displays of power. "The slain were many," he says, and breaks into one of his raptures of song:

"King Jesus was riding his white horse before, The watchman close after, the trumpets do roar: Some shouting, some singing, "Salvation!" they cry: In the strength of King Jesus all hell we defy."

In 1802 the wild man was admitted to the Western Confer-

ence on trial, the members taking a collection for his destitution and the bishop welcoming him with a warm embrace. Such amazing results now followed his preaching that his detractors accused him of drugging his auditors or throwing them down by some trick. No house would hold his congregations, and he preached from stands in the woods. and this among the sparsely settled regions. of East Tennessee! Five of Governor John Sevier's family he received into society. Like many of his quaint contemporaries he



FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE METHODIST LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

PEGGY DOW'S HYMNAL.

piqued curiosity by his texts. From a wagon he preached on "A wheel in the middle of a wheel" (Ezek. i, 16); in another place his text was "And he will be a wild man" (Gen. xvi, 12).

His zeal rapidly ate up his strength. His lungs were enfeebled, and after a few years he desisted from traveling. He became a physician, still preaching as he had opportunity until his triumphant death.

On one occasion the Quarterly Conference took away Grenade's license for some infraction of the Discipline. "What!" he cried, "not preach for three months? Brethren, if you can stop the devil for three months, I will stop preaching. But so long as Satan goes about as a roaring lion I am bound to wage war against him!" and it required tactful management to induce him to bow to the decision of his brethren.

One who heard the wild preacher and witnessed his nervous exercises in preaching assures us that "Grenade was one of the most devoted and useful of men. Well versed in the Scriptures, particularly the prophecies, and gifted in language and voice, he was one of the most extraordinary preachers of his day. He could paint the sublime glories of heaven so vividly that it seemed almost as though one were gazing upon the reality; and he could so represent the horrors of hell and the punishment of the wicked that the scene almost made one's hair rise on his head."



CHAPTER LXII

A Bundle of Odd Sticks

BILLY HIBBARD.—JACOB GRUBER.—VALENTINE COOK.—SOLOMON SHARP.
—JAMES JENKINS.

ERY different from the eccentric Dow and the wild man of the West was Billy Hibbard, the Yankee "character."

In calling the roll of one of the Northern Conferences the secretary read the name "William Hibbard."

There was a moment of silence, and a large man with an intelligent countenance rose slowly and awkwardly and protested that his name was not "William," but "Billy."

"Why, Brother Hibbard," interposed Asbury, "Billy is a little boy's name."

"Yes, Bishop," began the objector—and the brethren sharpened their ears to catch the reply—"and I was a little boy when my father gave it to me," and the laugh went round.

The Rev. Billy Hibbard—for the protesting preacher clung to his unclerical cognomen—was one of the most popular and useful preachers of Methodism in New England and New York. He was born in Connecticut, and brought up in western Massachusetts, where the prevailing Calvinism made

him unhappy. The first Methodist preachers broke the bread of life to his soul. He listened to them, read their books, and joining their Church, soon became a class leader.



BILLY HIBBARD AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-FOUR.

The local defenders of Calvinism tried to argue him out of his assurance. But Billy Hibbard, plus John Fletcher, was not an easy victim. The young farmer's logic matched theirs, and his wit made them a laughingstock. Hibbard's wife had thought it shameful that he should join the despised sect, but the contemplation of his serenity and the loving spirit of the society brought her in tears to the Methodist altar. When he believed himself called to preach, but was encumbered by debts and a family, she opened the Bible blindfold and laid her finger on the words, "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God." They obeyed it as a voice from heaven, and from 1797 until his death, in 1844, Billy Hibbard was generally traveling and preaching. On his circuits the main opposition came from the Calvinists rather than from the openly vicious, and the Methodist Church had no reason to regret its champion.

Stopping one day in midwinter at the door of an aged Presbyterian, who had turned against eight of his children because they went to hear the Methodists, Billy Hibbard asked the privilege of warming his feet and having a friendly chat. The old Scotchman angrily denounced him for an ignorant deceiver, and ordered him out of the house. Hibbard adroitly engaged him in conversation on foreordination, and said he could not believe that God had decreed everything that came to pass.

- "I do," said the Scot, "and so would you if you were not ignorant."
- "Well," said Hibbard, "it has come to pass that the Methodists have come into this place to preach, and many have been converted; and why do you oppose them, since God has decreed it?"
 - "He has not," cried the other.
- "Well, then," concluded the preacher, "something has come to pass that God did not decree."

Of a deist, boasting that he would not believe in anything he had never seen, Hibbard demanded, "Did you ever see your backbone?" And when the squirming materialist said, "I mean that I am not required to believe what I never had an experience of," the preacher retorted: "What makes you believe that ratsbane would poison you, unless you have had experience of it? When you've got to hell then you'll believe there is a hell."

While Hibbard was preaching on Long Island some base fellows sent one of their number into the room to hurl a brass candlestick at him. The preacher heard voices without, and guessed the youth's intention. Stopping abruptly, he said: "Young man, the devil is out of doors calling for you. Set down that candlestick and go out to him." The fellow dropped his missile and slunk out, followed by the parting shot: "That is a faithful servant of the devil. As soon as he knows his master wants him he goes."

In Connecticut, where it was said certain people became Methodists to get clear of paying church rates, he preached caustic sermons on stinginess, in which he said, "If we take the scum of New England to make a Church of, and they become liberal and pious and truly religious, it will be a high recommendation to the spirit we profess and the principles we teach."

Billy Hibbard has been accounted eccentric, but his peculiarities were no disadvantage to him. His mind was vigorous and well disciplined, and his heart responded quickly to every appeal to its broad human sympathy.

He was a man among men; a favorite with officers and soldiers while regimental chaplain in the war of 1812; treated with respect and honor by some of the very Calvinist divines whose doctrines he most abhorred and ridiculed, and the beloved friend of scores of men and women whom his appeals had snatched from worldliness and sin. It was

his irrepressible drollery, breaking out in conversation, in debate, and even in the pulpit, which gave him his peculiar fame. His biographers quote many instances of this characteristic quality. Dr. Lyman Beecher, riding along a Con-



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY RITCHIE.

JACOB GRUBER.

necticut highway, once fell into conversation with Hibbard, and at length inquired, "Are you not a minister of the Gospel?"

- "I am."
- "Do you belong to the standing order?" pursued the minister of the Established Church.
 - "No," said the Methodist, dryly. "I belong to the kneel-

ing order." And the son of David Beecher grasped the hand of the successor of Jesse Lee.

Many are the stories told of the Rev. Jacob Gruber, the blunt Pennsylvania German, who was well known in that and adjoining States in the former half of the century. His speech was as plain as his dress, and he used it not only in calling sinners to repentance, but in reproving Church members for their worldliness. He lived to witness with regret the disappearance of some of the marks which had made the Methodists a peculiar people. "What is dat?" asked he, in his broken English, as he heard the notes of a church organ.

- "The organ," said his companion.
- "And what is de organ for?"
- "O they are worshiping God in song."
- "O yes! And do they have a machine to say their prayers also?"

Gruber conscientiously enforced the rule against superfluity of apparel. A tall lady in showy headgear came late to meeting. He stopped abruptly, and said, "Make room for dat lady; one might have thought she was tall enough to be seen without a pird on her ponnet." And when she afterward complained of his rudeness he said: "Why, sister, was that you? I thought you had more sense." At a camp meeting the preachers were annoyed by a young man in a much ruffled shirt who persisted in standing on the benches to overlook the audience. To a polite invitation to be seated he paid no heed, but he dropped like a shot when Gruber said: "O brethren, let that young man alone. Let him enjoy himself. Don't you see he wants to show his fine ruffled shirt? and, after all, I dare say it's borrowed," as was inferred from the man's ignominious retreat.

Some young women who were guilty of the same disorder

he brought to their seats by exclaiming, in his odd German dialect, "If dose young ladies dere only knew what great holes dey have in deir stockings dey wouldn't be standing on de penches where efferybody can see dem."

Tobacco users provoked his bitterest rebukes. To one company of smokers he declared that the devil was the originator of the weed, and proved it thus: "I read in Scripture that the mustard seed is the smallest of all seeds—that is, the smallest of all seeds the Lord has made—and everybody knows that the tobacco seed is smaller than the mustard seed, and therefore the devil must have made it." Seeing a young man smoking, he raised the cry of "Fire!" "Where?" said the smoker. "I guess it's in your head," said the preacher, catching hold of his cigar and throwing it away; "because I see de smoke coming out."

Most of Gruber's work as preacher and presiding elder lay in the country, but he was stationed at Baltimore at the time of the British descent in the war of 1812. One Sunday his sermon was interrupted by the booming of hostile cannon, and he cried to the Lord to bless King George, convert him, and take him to heaven, as they wanted no more of him.

One who knew Gruber well says: "He was a remarkable man, and one not to be judged by common standards. . . . He seemed raised up for a special purpose, and to that purpose he was peculiarly adapted. . . . He was candid to abruptness, firm even to obstinacy, and faithful in reproof almost, if not quite, to discourtesy. . . . But he was a man of great faith, of a devout spirit, of diligent, fervent, constant prayer, and of untiring labor in his Master's work." Asbury loved him much, and honored his faithfulness with heavy burdens of responsibility, which Father Gruber never betrayed.

There was one swarthy, raven-haired youth among the students at ill-fated Cokesbury who could tell strange stories of adventures with wild beasts and savage men. This was Valentine Cook, from the frontier of western Virginia. He soon became a preacher; was several years a presiding elder on Pennsylvania districts and afterward in Kentucky, where, after a brief term as principal of Bethel Academy, he located



VALENTINE COOK.

as a farmer. He was a tall man with a powerful frame, which he clothed most shabbily, a dirty Indian blanket serving for an overcoat. He looked like an Indian, and his gait was their noiseless glide, and in the intense moments of his preaching his voice grew guttural. Though he had enjoyed some superior advantages of education, and

read widely, he retained many superstitions. German was almost as familiar to him as his mother tongue, as he once showed to the discomfiture of a German family whose guest he happened to be. They had made some pointed remarks in his presence, presuming that he would not understand. He began to pray with them at nightfall, as was his custom. The prayer began in English, but soon shifted into German, to their consternation. When he rose from his knees they had all stolen from the room, leaving none to face him. He was one of the most powerful revivalists of the day, and even after his location was in great demand for camp meetings. It is said that the Methodist custom of calling anxious sinners

to the altar to be instructed and prayed for was first introduced by Cook in Pennsylvania about 1797, in time to play a great part in the revival scenes of the next decade.

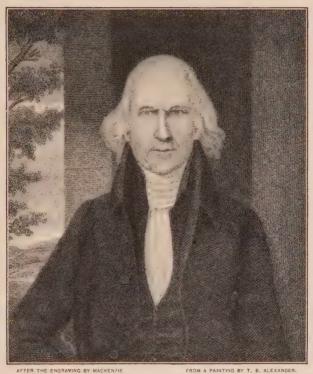
Another original was Solomon Sharp, of the Philadelphia Conference, 1792-1835. "Brethren," he said, in the introduction to his first sermon in Trenton, where the society was torn by party spirit, "I have a face and a back, but I have no sides." Small congregations vexed him-and here many have been his successors. Being confronted at one appointment by an unusually meager audience, he said, "The word of the Lord says, 'Give a portion to seven, and also to eight,' but as there are only six of you here I'll not preach to-day." And he went out, leaving the six to their reflections. In his old age some factory hands tried to make sport of him by luring him into their shop to pray with one of their number who pretended to be in sore distress of spirit. Father Sharp came, heard the penitent's groaning tale, and detected the impious plot. Suddenly thrusting his body between them and the only exit, he launched out against them and their wicked devices. They were "heaven-daring, helldeserving sinners." As his eloquence grew with his righteous indignation the unholy glee left their faces and they trembled before their intended victim. "Down! down on your knees!" he cried, and down they went, suing for mercy and begging the irate old man to pray for them. And this he did with such effect that some of them dated their serious lives from the hour of their practical joke upon Solomon Sharp.

The memoirs of these times abound in instances of plain dealing which would now be called eccentric. Thus, as well balanced a man as Hope Hull could be terribly severe. "I am like Paul of old—when I would do good evil is present

with me," mumbled a red-faced brother in class. "I'm afraid you are like old Noah too—get drunk sometimes," was Hull's cutting comment. The same preacher happened once to pass the night in a house where a ball was to be held. Being invited to join the dance, he stepped out upon the floor and said, "I never engage in any kind of business without first asking the blessing of God upon it, so let us pray." Then dropping to his knees, he presented the case of these people to heaven in terms which sent some home in terror and brought others around him in tears. "To-day four weeks I shall preach in this room," he said, as he retired. Crowds came to hear the sermon, and a great revival broke out in that place.

Then there was James Jenkins, who labored in Georgia and the Carolinas, 1792-1847. His trumpet tones gained him the sobriquet "Thundering Jimmy," and his zeal for the Discipline made the younger preachers call him "the currycomb of the Conference." When a young preacher had delivered a flowery sermon, in which the pyramids of Egypt figured prominently, Jenkins, rising to exhort, began: "Brethren, the hour is gone and nobody is profited. I should like to know what the pyramids have to do with converting souls. Fire, Holy Ghost power, is what we want." At a Conference session he complained of a young preacher who, having officiated at a wedding, did not leave the house when dancing began. The brother excused himself on the ground that he could not reach the exit without passing through the ballroom. "If I had been there," said Jenkins, "I would have gotten out of the house if Satan himself had been doorkeeper." And more than likely he would.

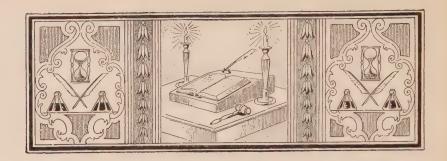
Instances might be multiplied to show how these selfreliant men of the early days developed under the hard conditions which surrounded them. Each had his own difficulties to meet, his own problems to solve. Outrageous wickedness beset them. Men scoffed at their religion, and taunted them with blasphemies from Tom Paine's pamphlets. Shall we wonder if the preachers fought fire with fire, and,



JAMES JENKINS.

"Thundering Jimmy," of the South Carolina Conference.

getting hard knocks, gave knockdown blows in return? Yet the rudest itinerant of them all would melt in pity over the repentant sinner, and give his last shilling to relieve the widow or the orphan. Rough days and rough ways, but the harsh exterior hid hearts that overflowed with Christly love.



CHAPTER LXIII

With the Lawmakers

THE GENERAL CONFERENCES OF 1796, 1800, AND 1804.—MEN AND MEASURES.

THE third General Conference met in the Light Street Church, Baltimore, on Thursday, October 20, 1796. Both bishops were present, Coke having recently arrived from England and Asbury having been resting near by with his hospitable friends, the Goughs, at Perry Hall. Although membership in the body was open to all traveling preachers in full connection, such were the obstacles of distance and poverty that not more than one hundred and twenty of the nearly three hundred preachers attended. The Discipline was considered section by section and several important provisions inserted.

Hitherto the "District" Conferences, which had been held annually for the convenience of the preachers in the several parts of the country, had borne no distinctive names and had received no defined territorial limits. As many as twenty had been held in a single year, 1793. The entire work was now divided among six yearly Conferences of great territorial extent, entitled and bounded as follows:

"I. The New England Conference, under the direction of which shall be the affairs of our Church in New England,

and in that part of the State of New York which lies on the east side of Hudson's River: Provided, that if the bishops see it necessary, a Conference may be held in the province of Maine.

"2. The Philadelphia Conference, for the direction of our



THE SIX ORIGINAL ANNUAL CONFERENCES.

As laid out by the General Conference, 1796.

concerns in the remainder of the State of New York, in New Jersey, in all that part of Pennsylvania which lies on the east side of the Susquehannah River, the State of Delaware, and all the rest of the peninsula.

- "3. The Baltimore Conference, for the remainder of Pennsylvania, the remainder of Maryland, and the northern neck of Virginia.
- "4. The Virginia Conference, for all that part of Virginia which lies on the south side of the Rappahannock River, and for all that part of North Carolina which lies on the north side of Cape Fear River, including also the circuits which are situated on the branches of the Yadkin.
- "5. The South Carolina Conference, for South Carolina, Georgia, and the remainder of North Carolina.
- "6. The Western Conference, for the States of Kentucky and Tennessee."

A seventh Conference, the New York, was added in 1800, comprising that part of the State of New York east of the Hudson, all of Connecticut, and those parts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont which were included in the New York and New London Districts. Except for shifting and extension of boundaries there were no changes in these seven Conferences until 1812, when the famous Western Conference was replaced by two, "Ohio" and "Tennessee," and the Susquehannah, Cayuga, and the two Canadian circuits were put together to form a ninth Conference, the Genesee, which had been organized in 1810.

The uniform salary of the preacher remained fixed at \$64, with an equal allowance for his wife. The inadequacy of this support, even when it was regularly paid, was causing useful men to leave the ranks every year, and a fund was now established, known as the "Chartered Fund," to be supported "by the voluntary contributions of our friends" and by the profits of the Book Concern, and to be used to eke out the deficiencies of the traveling preachers and relieve the wants of superannuates. But the work grew so much

faster than the fund that it never met the hopes of its projectors.

Other enactments provided a form of deed under which church property should be held by trustees for the use of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; improved the status of local preachers by admitting them to deacons' orders and otherwise; compelled traveling deacons to serve two years before ordination as elders; and made sundry emphatic utterances on temperance and slavery. A preacher who heard the two days' debate on the last point says "there was more said in favor of it than I liked to hear." The sentiment of the majority was not radical enough to exclude slaveholders or liquor sellers from membership in society.

The question of "strengthening the episcopacy" was brought up by Asbury's failing strength and Coke's protracted absences. The discussion was long and heated. Jesse Lee declared vehemently that the time had come for an American Church to have done with British bishops. But most of the preachers followed Asbury's wish and accepted Coke's offer to reside in America and take his share of the active work of the superintendency—an engagement from which he was soon suing for release.

William Colbert is one of the few preachers whose notes on the happenings of this session have come to light. He mentions the nightly sermons of Poythress, Garrettson, Shadrach Bostwick, George, Roberts, Whatcoat, and others, and Coke's "delightful" Sabbath discourses. Some of the exhortations by Valentine Cook, John Dickins, John Ray, and others surpassed the preaching. This Methodist Pepys varies his pious entry for Saturday, October 22, with the humble confession, "I gave a quarter of a dollar for the sight of an elephant, which I expect I had better given to the poor."

The Dishops were well satisfied with the fortnight's work. The O'Kelly matter had clouded the previous session, and by contrast all now seemed "unity and love" to Coke, who tells us also that the Lord was present in power at the evangelistic meetings every evening. Asbury, too, declares "that souls were awakened and converted," and "no angry passions were felt among the preachers."

The fourth General Conference met in Light Street Church, Baltimore, in May, 1800, the date having been changed from October in order to avoid the yellow fever then liable to be prevalent. Though the quadrennium had seen a general advance in numbers, the attendance of preachers fell somewhat below that of the previous session. Again both bishops were present, and the business occupied two weeks. Preachers were locating by the score, and the Western circuit riders were in rags, on account of meager support and the rising prices of commodities. To remedy this distress several changes were made in the temporal economy: salaries were raised to \$80, with an equal amount for the wife of a married preacher and a smaller sum for each child under fourteen years of age. Similar provision was made for superannuates; the preachers were also assessed for a general deficiency fund; the circuits were urged to provide parsonages, and the bishops' salaries were apportioned to the Annual Conferences. The Annual Conferences were ordered to keep official records. Many minor changes were made in the Discipline, and though the radical motions to exclude slaveholders from membership in society were voted down, an abolition address was passed which was very obnoxious in some quarters.

The question of "strengthening the episcopacy" had now become a matter of pressing importance. Coke's engagements abroad still prevented him from giving much time to

America. Asbury's health had suffered greatly within the quadrennium; his infirmities had at last unhorsed him, and forced him to travel in a "sulky" and to lay a part of his burden upon other shoulders. In 1797 he had proposed to the Annual Conferences to elect three "assistant bishops," and had nominated Richard Whatcoat, Francis Poythress, and Jesse Lee for the office. The New England Conference, however, nipped the proposition in the bud, and Asbury had thereupon summoned Lee to travel with him and bear the brunt of the superintendency until proper arrangements could be made. The General Conference refused to receive the resignation of their spiritual father, but granted him a traveling companion and determined to choose one new bishop of coordinate power. Whatcoat, the Englishman, was chosen, after an exciting contest, by a few votes over Lee, the American. The defeated candidate showed no rancor. On the day of Whatcoat's consecration to the episcopal office Jesse Lee preached "in the Market House on Howard's Hill" with such effect that "seven souls were awakened and brought to God." On the 20th of May, when the Conference adjourned, he had the magnanimity to say of it: "I believe we never had so good a General Conference before. We had the greatest speaking and the greatest union of affections that we ever had on a like occasion."

This General Conference is noted for the gracious revival which accompanied and followed it. Whatcoat, the new bishop, says there were two hundred conversions in two weeks, and tells how "the high praises of God resounded from street to street and from house to house, which greatly alarmed the citizens."

Although the quadrennium 1800-1804 was one of splendid growth, the membership of the Church more than doubling

and the ministry gaining a full third, the General Conference of 1804, which met again in the Light Street Church, in Baltimore, on May 7, was attended by only one hundred and twelve preachers, though all who had traveled four years and were then in full connection were entitled to be present. There were but three or four from the West, including Burke, and four from New England, among whom was George Pickering. The two great central Conferences, Philadelphia and Baltimore, mustered sixty-seven members, an ample working majority of the whole.

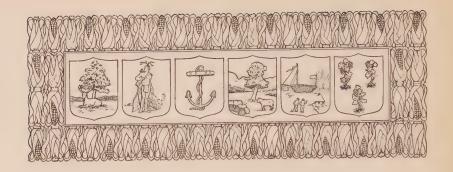
The three bishops, all of English birth, were present; Coke on what proved to be his farewell visit, Whatcoat, who was not long to survive it, and Asbury, infirm of limb but as mighty as ever in spirit.

The session began on Monday, and, as usual, the Discipline was reviewed, paragraph by paragraph. The important changes were not many. The time limit first appeared in American Methodism when the motion of George Dougherty was passed: "That no preacher should be continued in a circuit more than two years." The bishops, who had hitherto been empowered to adjourn the Annual Conferences at discretion, were required to allow them to sit one week at least. The penalty against marrying "unawakened persons" was mitigated, which gave at least one preacher "awful fears" that the Conference would thus "hoist the floodgates of corruption." On motion of Book Agent Ezekiel Cooper, who was evidently a Federalist, Article XXIII of the Articles of Religion was amended so as to include the declaration that "the States" therein mentioned "are a sovereign and independent nation." Local dissensions in Philadelphia had made it desirable to remove the Book Concern, and New York was preferred to Baltimore for its permanent location.

Ezekiel Cooper was reelected agent, with John Wilson for his colleague.

The debates on slavery were warm and the resulting changes in Discipline inconsiderable; slavery was denounced as an evil to be extirpated; preachers and officials must emancipate their slaves wherever possible; slaveholding members must be admonished, and the like.

This Conference tried the innovation of admitting the public to hear the debates, but the experiment was discouraging, and after a few days the body sat behind closed doors. There was nightly preaching, as in former years, but the veterans like Lee missed something, and lamented that there was "very little stir in religion."



CHAPTER LXIV

Among the New Englanders

TWENTY YEARS IN YANKEEDOM.—JESSE LEE'S SHARE.—PIONEERING IN MAINE.—FIRST CIRCUITS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND VERMONT.—MUDGE, PICKERING, BRODHEAD, MERRITT, AND THEIR ASSOCIATES.

HE two decades which were so fruitful for Methodism in the new communities of the West were years of scarcely less rapid growth under the shadow of the ancient Puritan sanctuaries of New England. Indeed, in that period of reverses when the O'Kelly and Hammett rebellions made havoc of the societies in the South, the reports from the Northern work were uniformly cheering. Yet the itinerants in that section met with discouragements encountered in no other quarter. Ridiculed as ignorant, denounced as heretical, ignored by the rich and learned, their polity and doctrines called into question, they nevertheless went everywhere preaching the word. The fishermen of Nantucket and Cape Cod, the farmers of the Connecticut valley, and the shipbuilders and lumbermen of Maine heard from their lips a gospel of love, instead of a barren proclamation of law, and eagerly embraced the doctrine of free grace and a life of holiness for every sinner.

Jesse Lee, the pioneer of Methodism in New England,

continued to be its chief figure in that section for nearly a dozen years. In the fall of 1793, having laid the foundations of the Church broad and deep in the three southern States, he set out for Maine, then a province of Massachusetts and a sparsely populated country meagerly supplied with religious privileges of any sort. His first sermon was at Saco on September 13. He soon formed the "Readfield Circuit," extending along the Kennebec from Hallowell to Sandy River,



OLD READFIELD MEETINGHOUSE.

The first Methodist church in Maine, erected in 1795.

and comprising Hallowell, Farmington, New Sharon, Mount Vernon, Readfield, Winthrop, and Monmouth, where in November, 1794, the first class in Maine was enrolled. His representations to the Conference of 1794 secured the appointment of a preacher, Philip Wager, to travel this circuit, which was two hundred miles from any other. On December 14 Lee was in Readfield, where he administered the Lord's Supper to "about eight persons," the first Methodist communion service in Maine, and six months later he was at the same place dedicating Maine's first Methodist church. Lee and Wager returned three hundred and eighteen members in the province in 1795. New circuits were laid out, embracing the settlements as far down east as the Passamaquoddy, and strong men were sent to fill them. Enoch

Mudge, Robert Yellalee, John Brodhead, Timothy Merritt, Jesse Stoneman, were among the Maine preachers in these years. They, with Asbury, Lee, Aaron Humphrey, Roger



FRUM A PHOTOGRAPH.

REV. JOSHUA TAYLOR.

First presiding elder of the Maine District. Born in Princeton, N. J., February 5, 1768, converted 1789, joined Conference 1791. The Maine District when constituted in 1797, had but three circuits. He died March 20, 1861, aged ninety-three years, one month, and fifteen days.

Searle, Joshua Taylor, and John Finnegan, made up the first Conference held in this part of New England, which convened at Readfield on August 29, 1798. When the doors were opened after the love feast such throngs pressed into the house to hear the bishop's sermon that the supports of the galleries gave way, and a panic was narrowly averted. Ordinations followed the sermon, and then the great presiding elder, whose heart was full with the experiences of the day, preached a discourse which brought tears to many eyes. At its conclusion two hundred persons knelt at the Communion table. "I stood astonished at the sight," says Lee. "It is not quite five years since we came into this part of the world!" There were already nearly a thousand Methodists in the province, and Joshua Taylor, Epaphras Kibby, Joshua Soule, Oliver Beale, and a host of their consecrated successors were to be the instruments of producing a marvelous development of the cause which lay near their hearts.

New Hampshire responded more slowly to the seed sowing. Philip Wager, who had been transferred thither from Maine in 1796, was the first regularly appointed preacher there. He reported twenty-four members at the next Conference. Four years later there were still less than two hundred Methodists in the State. Supported by a firm faith in the divine approval of their labors, the itinerants never relaxed their efforts, though ears might be deaf and mobs annoy, and eventually the stubborn heart of New Hampshire yielded. To-day the Methodist Episcopal Church ranks second among the Protestant denominations in the Granite State.

West of the Connecticut the preachers found a warmer and heartier welcome. Men like Nicholas Snethen, the first of the Vermont itinerants—1796—Joseph Mitchell, and Joseph Crawford brought the membership up to eleven hundred within four years, and the cause has increased until only the

Congregationalists, the first to enter the field, exceed in numbers the once slighted and abused sect of Methodists.

Jesse Lee left New England in 1800 to spend the remainder of his life, as it proved, in the South. In 1808 he revisited the scene of his most eminent services. Everywhere the societies received him as their spiritual father, and his tears mingled with theirs. In a little Maine village, he says, "Many came and gave me their hands and with streaming eyes begged my prayers and wished my welfare. Several came who had never been converted, and, crying aloud, said they would try to get to heaven if they could."

Among the preachers of Methodism in New England were so many men of exceptional achievement that it seems invidious to select the few who can be mentioned.

Enoch Mudge must be one of these. He was a lad of fifteen when Jesse Lee first came to his native town, Lynn, Mass., and he soon followed his parents among the Methodists, becoming a boy preacher, and at seventeen (August, 1793) joining the Conference. He thus takes rank as the earliest native New Englander to enter the itinerant ministry of the denomination. In his twentieth year he was in Maine, taking the place of the presiding elder, Lee, then absent with the bishop. He continued in that province for twenty years, locating after a time at Orrington, where he was greatly loved and honored. In 1816 he resumed the traveling relation, and for fifteen years served the churches in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. In 1832 he became a missionary among the seamen of New Bedford, then the shipping port of the whaling fleet. Until his health failed, in 1844, he labored unremittingly at this post. The Christian Register (Unitarian) pays him the following tribute: "He looked upon the seamen as his children; he

sought them out; invited them to his house; met them at their reading room and at the church; preached to them, gave them lectures on temperance, wrote didactic poems for them, and sent them off on their long voyages with wise counsels and useful books, and followed them still with his paternal blessing and prayers. His was the influence of love, reaching all around him through kind acts and sound words and a steadfast adherence to his one great purpose. He was in simplicity a child, and yet remarkable for his prudence and sagacity." Mudge was a short, thickset man, with a kindly face and pleasing manner. Those who knew him best speak most of his power to win friends, his methodical habits, and his practical good sense. He was an acceptable preacher, and a valued contributor to the periodical literature of the denomination. Time was when his hymns were often heard in camp meetings. He died in the town of his birth on April 2, 1850.

In 1794 the boy preacher, Mudge, became acquainted with a youth of about his own age in Barkhamstead, Conn., named Timothy Merritt. Young Merritt was the most promising member of the local society. Two years later he joined the Conference, and in 1797 was sent to Maine as junior preacher on the Penobscot Circuit, under Mudge. This association ripened into a lasting friendship. Merritt preached in Maine until 1803, when he located there, "that the infant churches might be eased of the burden of supporting him and his family." Even after his location he seldom had a "dumb Sabbath," and in 1817 he returned to the active ministry, chiefly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Timothy Merritt was for many years a representative man of New England Methodism, standing high in the councils of the denomination and commanding respect among its opponents. As a writer and public speaker, not less than as an evangelist, he held a large place among the men of his time, and when he died, at Lynn, Mass., May 2, 1845, it was felt that a prince and a mighty man in Israel had fallen.



REV. GEORGE PICKERING.

Jesse Lee's success in New England is the more marvelous in that he was a Virginian—a "foreigner." At least two other men who were conspicuous in the early annals of Eastern Methodism were born outside the Puritan pale. George Pickering, though he bore a Puritan name, was born in Talbot County, Md., in 1769. He was converted in Philadelphia and in his twenty-first year entered the ministry. In 1793 he was added to Lee's corps of evangelists and devoted the remainder of his long and beneficent career to the Church in the northeastern States. He was thrice presiding elder of the Boston District and once of a district comprising two thirds of New England. He labored in the principal appointments of eastern Massachusetts. Again and again he represented the brethren in the General Conference, whose organization he had helped to plan.

He was gifted with a sound and vigorous intellect, was prudent in counsel, prompt in decision, and energetic in action—a model executive officer in the Methodist army—while the clearness of his thought, the earnestness and sincerity of his manner, and the pith and humor of his illustrations gave unusual interest and effect to his pulpit utterance. He kept at his work until physical infirmities felled him in the pulpit. He died at Waltham, Mass., on December 8, 1846. He married early in life the daughter of Benjamin Bemis of that town, to whose hospitable dwelling the venerable Asbury always turned for shelter from the social chill of New England.

John Brodhead was another adopted son of New England who made a great figure in her religious history. His father was a captain in the Pennsylvania line who died from the effects of a wound received at the Brandywine. The son grew up to manhood blessed with a powerful physique and a frank and generous disposition. At twenty-two religion became his chief concern, and having found peace in believing, he joined the Methodists and in 1794 began to itinerate in

his native State, Pennsylvania. In 1796 he was sent to Maine, and soon became a leader of Methodism in New Hampshire. Of this State he was a distinguished citizen, serving it in the Legislature and in Congress and declining the gubernatorial nomination. Bishop Hedding says of him: "Such was his popularity as a preacher that multitudes were



AFTER RELLY'S ENGRAVING OF THE DRAWING BY B. F. NUTTING

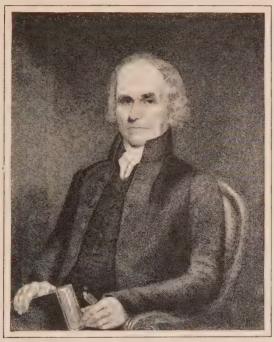
RESIDENCE OF REV. GEORGE PICKERING.

The Benjamin Bemis homestead, Waltham, Mass. Asbury, Whatcoat, Lee, Hedding, Roberts, and many others were entertained here.

attracted from great distances to hear him. Both in public and in private he was a stern and uncompromising opposer of every kind of wickedness, yet his natural disposition and his religious feelings were of a mild and benignant character. . . He was a man of extraordinary religious zeal and resolution, and in the early part of his ministry, and while his health remained firm, he labored in the cause of Christ, traveling, preaching, praying, and exhorting, to an extent beyond most

men of his day. His advantages for early education were but limited, yet he was an extensive reader and close thinker, and was every way fitted to exert a commanding influence." He died April 7, 1838.

Other names which cannot die are Elijah R. Sabin, who was "the apostle of upper New Hampshire;" Martin Ruter,



FROM THE ENGRAVING BY MACKENZIE

REV. DANIEL OSTRANDER.

first agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern: Shadrach Bostwick, who carried Methodism to the Western Reserve in Ohio; Elijah Hedding and Joshua Soule, the future bishops; Joseph A. Merrill, fifteen years presiding elder and six times in the General Conference; Billy Hibbard, full of common sense and uncommon oddities and righteousness; Joshua

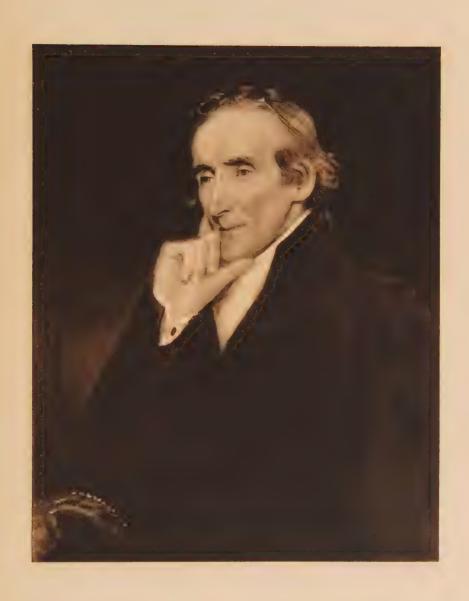
Hall, Aaron Hunt, Daniel Webb, and Epaphras Kibby. That brilliant preacher, Laurence McCombs, of Delaware, gave five of his earlier years (1795-9) to New England. Daniel Ostrander, whose later fame is connected with the work in the Hudson valley, labored in Massachusetts and Connecticut almost continuously from 1793 to 1805. The eloquent Nicholas Snethen, the Long Islander, who afterward became one of the chief men of the Methodist Protestant movement, preached in Maine, Connecticut, and Vermont from 1794 to 1797.



Rev. Ezekiel Cooper.

** THE SECOND FOUNDER OF THE BOOK CANCERN."

From the pertrait in the Mission Rooms, New York.







CHAPTER LXV

A Delegated General Conference

AN EPOCHAL YEAR.—A PERIOD OF TRANSITION.—DEFECTS OF THE EARLY POLITY.—THE CONFERENCE OF 1808.—COMMITTEE OF FOURTEEN.—RESTRICTIVE RULES.—DEBATES IN THE FIRST DELEGATED GENERAL CONFERENCE.

HE year 1808 was as decisive in the history of American Methodism as 1789 had been in the evolution of the republic of the United States. The former date marks the settlement of ecclesiastical problems analogous to those which had found their political solution in the adoption of the Constitution. The first General Conference, that of 1784, had been concerned with the organization of the Church. Before that day there had been no union, save in common doctrines and obedience to common leaders. It may be said with truth that the magnificent personality and itinerant superintendency of Francis Asbury constituted the strongest link between the Conferences prior to 1808.

At the death of Wesley there was danger of disintegration, which the O'Kelly disturbances increased. So alarmed was Coke that in 1791 he proposed to Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a union of the Methodist and Protestant Episcopal Churches. He regarded the organiza-

645

tion as a rope of sand. The Christmas Conference had made no provision for a successor, and Asbury, not less than Coke, was concerned over the outlook. The very growth of the Church, with the multiplication of Conferences, added to the danger. There was no homogeneousness in legislation, one Conference was entirely free of the others, and Asbury saw no way out of the difficulty except by the so-called council. It was a kind of curia regis—that expedient of kings before the advent of representative government. The council was foredoomed to failure. Its fatal defect was the necessity of having its proposals sanctioned by the Conferences. As an historian has said, "It combined the utmost aristocracy with the completest democracy." It held but two sessions and passed into merited oblivion. Its deathblow came from the action of the Virginia Conference, which, through the influence of O'Kelly, refused to sanction its proposals. Out of its failure came the General Conference of 1792 and its quadrennial establishment.

Each succeeding General Conference made apparent the need of a firmer foundation for the ecclesiastical superstructure. More and more it became evident that a constitution was necessary to the permanence of Methodism. By a mere majority vote the organization, the doctrines, and indeed the entire system of Methodism could be changed. Here was a serious pitfall. The minority ought to have some rights; the Church itself should be protected against its own emotional paroxysms.

Then too it was evident that the General Conference had degenerated into a mere mass convention of elders. Any elder of four years' standing was a member of the body if he chose to attend. Such a body threatened to become unwieldy and inconvenient, as well as injurious to the entire Church; men

were drawn from the circuits to the detriment of the general interests of the broad field. But the inequality of its constituency was its chief offense. The preponderance of repre-



PAINTED BY CONARROE.

REV. THOMAS WARE.

ENGRAVED BY WELCH.

Born 1758, died 1842. Father Ware was a member of the Christmas Conference, 1784, and the first delegated General Conference, 1812; Assistant Book Agent, 1812-1816, and one of the best known preachers of his day.

sentation of the central Conferences was a standing affront to those outside the privileged circle. In 1804, for example,

the Western Conference had but three representatives, South Carolina five, and New England four; while Virginia had seventeen, Baltimore thirty, Philadelphia thirty-seven, and New York twelve. Out of a total of one hundred and eight members Baltimore and Philadelphia had over one half. The same proportion obtained in the ensuing General Conference.

In 1800 and also in 1804 propositions looking to a delegated body were introduced, but were negatived in each instance. The death of Whatcoat, in 1806, caused apprehension throughout the Church. It was felt that the episcopacy itself was in danger. Coke's absence from the country and Asbury's feeble health inspired a general fear that the Church might be entirely deprived of an episcopal head. The New York Conference agreed upon a plan to establish a permanent superintendency over the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and recommended the same to the other six Conferences for their concurrence. Asbury, in his rounds, laid it before them. It proposed that seven members from each of the seven Conferences should meet in Baltimore on July 4, 1807, "for the express purpose, and with full powers, to elect, organize, and establish a permanent superintendency, and for no other purpose." The New England, the Western, and the South Carolina Conferences concurred, but Virginia refused. This unforeseen action of the Virginia Conference was due largely to the opposition of Jesse Lee, who raised the cries of "Rebellion," "Worse than Burr," "Dividing the connection," and the like.

Lee's opposition, however, resulted in good, for it rendered imperatively necessary a delegated General Conference, just as the failure of the old Confederation of States had led to constitutional government.

The New York Conference memorialized the General Conference of 1808 in favor of a delegated body. The subject was referred to the celebrated "Committee of Fourteen." Its members were McKendree, Lee, Cooper, Wilson, Soule, Pickering, Burke, Phœbus, Randle, Bruce, Roszel, McClaskey, Reed, and Ware. A subcommittee of three, Cooper, Soule, and Bruce, was appointed, to whom the entire subject was referred. Cooper and Soule each prepared a plan, but Bruce did not, and, after hearing both, agreed with Soule. Soule's plan, therefore, was reported to the Conference. It provided for a delegated General Conference, to be chosen by vote of the Annual Conferences, the ratio of representation to be seven delegates for each Conference and one for every additional ten members above fifty. The Conference should meet on May 1, 1812, and every fourth year on the same date perpetually, at some place determined. A quorum should be two thirds of the delegates, and a bishop should preside. The Restrictive Rules were to limit the powers of the Conference. Its consideration was interrupted by a debate on the election of presiding elders, which, after several days' discussion, was lost by a vote of fifty-two to seventy-three.

The vote on constituting a delegated General Conference was then taken, and lost by a vote of fifty-seven to sixty-four. The vote of the large Conferences defeated it. Philadelphia and Baltimore desired to retain their supremacy, just as the larger States were jealous of the smaller ones in the Constitutional Convention. It was here a question of Conference rights in place of State rights. Human nature is the same whether expressed in ecclesiastical or political terms. The question of seniority, instead of election, as the basis of representation largely determined this result. This was highly displeasing to the New England and Western

delegates, some of whom asked leave to withdraw. The Church was on the verge of schism. Asbury, McKendree, and Hedding prevailed upon the delegates to wait a day



FROM MACKENZIE'S ENGRAVING AFTER THE PAINTING BY PARADILE

REV. EZEKIEL COOPER.

Born 1763, died 1847. Organizer of the Book Concern, and a leader in the Church for many years.

longer. The result was a compromise, by which the Annual Conferences were left free to select delegates either by seniority or election.

This important act established the General Conference with full powers of legislation under the following restrictions: (1) That the Articles of Religion should not be changed; nor (2) that it should allow more than one representative for every five members of an Annual Conference; nor (3) do away our itinerant general superintendency; nor (4) change the General Rules; nor (5) do away with the trial or appeal of members or preachers; nor (6) appropriate the profits of the Book Concern and Chartered Fund for any purpose except the benefit of the worn-out preachers and their families. Provided, that the above restrictions might be removed upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the ensuing General Conference.

These Restrictive Rules have continued substantially in force from that time to the present. The ratio of representation has been changed, lay representation introduced, and it is no longer necessary for all the Annual Conferences to agree upon amendments.

The General Conference of 1808 felt called upon to strengthen the episcopacy. Asbury was old and feeble, and Coke was absent from the country. McKendree was thereupon elected and consecrated bishop, being the first native American to reach that position.

Coke sent a letter to the Conference concerning his secret negotiations with Bishop White. He explained that his only aim was the enlargement of the sphere of usefulness of Methodism. He never thought of seeking reconsecration, nor that Asbury or himself should vacate the episcopal office. Said he, "I have no doubt but that my consecration of Bishop Asbury was perfectly valid." It was a union to be accomplished by mutual concessions. There being no General Conference at the time, Coke, alarmed at the spread of the O'Kelly schism, thought such a union would be advan-

tageous to the cause to which he had pledged his life. He afterward saw his mistake and acknowledged it. His explanation was accepted, but hearts were deeply stirred at the appearance of a surrender, or even compromise, and his name was not attached to the Minutes.

The membership of the Church was stated to be 144,500, and 516 preachers. Ezekiel Cooper reported upon the Book Concern, showing its value to be \$45,000, with no debt. A thousand copies of an abridged edition of the Discipline were ordered for use in the South Carolina Conference, and the several Annual Conferences were authorized to "form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves."

Thus closed this memorable session, the character of the work accomplished in which makes it preeminently the most important in the history of the Church—with possibly the exception of that of 1784.

The first delegated General Conference met in New York on May 1, 1812. Eight Conferences were represented by ninety members. The test of the new scheme was now at hand. "Methodism was about to pass the ordeal which the civil government had experienced in the first Congress under the Federal Constitution. And as, in the latter case, the practical application of the Constitution was rendered both more difficult and important on account of the novelty of the experiment and the danger of introducing precedents which might lead to disastrous consequences, so in the former the utmost caution was necessary to begin the administration of the newly adopted organic laws of the Church conformably to the true intent and spirit of the ecclesiastical constitution. In both the highest qualities of mind and heart were needed."

Well may the Methodist Episcopal Church thank God for noble men raised up at this epoch. It has been said that no finer body of men ever gathered together for a similar purpose than met in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. Never in the history of Methodism, it may be said, had there assembled such a body as gathered in the Conferences of 1808 and 1812. Garrettson, Cooper, Ware, Lee, Bruce, Snethen, McKendree, together

with the imperial Asbury, were of the ancient régime, while of a little later birth were Soule, Hedding, Bangs, Roszell, George, Pierce, and Roberts. The Church was safe in such hands. An interesting innovation was the episcopal address of Bishop McKendree, precedent which has become law. Henry Smith says Asbury arose and said to McKendree, "This is a new thing; I never did business in this way, and why is this new thing introduced?" McKendree replied: "You are our father, we are your sons.



N BY P. E. FLINTOFF. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY REV. J. G. EDWARDS.

GRAVE OF REV. THOMAS WARE.

You never have had need of it. I am only a brother, and have need of it." This "new thing" marks the passing of the bishops from participating members to presiding officers in the body, and gave rise to the great committees whose work has become historic.

The chief questions considered were the election of presiding elders and the ordination of local preachers. The former question was debated at every General Conference down to 1828, since which time it had not been seriously considered until the General Conference of 1876, when it was defeated once more. The other great subject of debate, the ordination of local preachers, was carried, after protracted discussion, but only for cases where their official services were absolutely essential, and "Provided that no slaveholder shall be eligible to the office of local elder in any State or Territory where the civil laws will admit emancipation and suffer the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom."

A paragraph from the address of McKendree is important as showing the relation in which the episcopacy should henceforth stand to the General Conference: "I consider myself justly accountable not for the system of government, but for my administration, and ought therefore to be ready to answer in General Conference for past conduct and be willing to receive information and advice to perfect future operations."

Other minor matters received attention, such as the recognition of the rights of reserve delegates. The publication of a Methodist magazine was again ordered, and the affairs of the Book Concern were referred to a committee. An unsuccessful effort was made to remove it to Baltimore. The membership of the Church was reported to be 195,375, and of preachers 688. The local preachers were estimated to be 2,000.

On May 22, 1812, after a session of nineteen days, the first delegated General Conference adjourned. It was the last which Francis Asbury should attend.



CHAPTER LXVI

Growth under the Constitution

DEATH OF ASBURY.—GEORGE AND ROBERTS NEW BISHOPS.—AGAINST THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.—SOULE AND HEDDING ELECTED BISHOPS.—GREAT NUMERICAL ADVANCE OF THE CHURCH.

If the General Conference of 1816 met in Baltimore May I, and consisted of one hundred and four delegates. The shadow of a great bereavement fell upon it. Only a month before Francis Asbury had died in Virginia. His funeral was the occasion of profound sorrow. The entire Conference followed his remains from Light Street to the Eutaw Street Church and heard McKendree pronounce an eloquent discourse. If American Methodism was to be commiserated because of the loss of Asbury, there was cause for congratulation in possessing McKendree. He was a master of assemblies. The three sessions following the General Conference of 1812 were to be tests of the constitution adopted in 1808, and his influence was to be decisive.

McKendree's address, following his own precedent, was an outline of the needs of the Church, and demonstrated the existing inadequacy of the superintendency for the oversight of the Conferences. He alone was left, for both Coke and Asbury had passed away during the quadrennium. On the wise suggestion of McKendree, who seemed to have a remarkable comprehension of the needs of the far future, the Conference provided for Standing Committees on Episcopacy, Book Concern, Ways and Means, Review and Revision, Safety, and Temporal Economy.

The salaries of the preachers were raised to \$100, and their wives and widows were allowed the same sum. A course of study, excellent for the times, was established, and the presiding elders were urged to carry out its provisions. Though at first planned for only two years, it was afterward increased to four. To Nathan Bangs belongs the honor of inaugurating this great educational system.

Following the recommendations of the Committee of Episcopacy, two additional superintendents were elected—Enoch George and Robert Richford Roberts. George was born in Virginia, and had been converted under the ministry of John Easter. He began to labor in company with Cox, the book steward, in 1789, and was admitted on probation in 1790. Six years later he was presiding elder of the Charleston District. After some years of retirement because of illness he joined the Baltimore Conference and filled important positions, being presiding elder of the Potomac District at the time of his election. His preaching was impressive and his judgment good. He was a man of great humility and dignity. An alleged portrait is often seen, but no authentic likeness of him has been preserved.

Roberts was a native of Maryland, and was born in 1778. In 1800 he was licensed as an exhorter; in 1802 he traveled under James Quinn and in 1804 was admitted as a member of the Conference. He was a member of the General Conference of 1808. In 1811 he was stationed at Alexandria and became intimate with President Madison. It is said

that he always closed his visits to the President with prayer. A devout and humble man, he proved a most useful servant of the Church.

That vexatious inheritance of former General Conferences,



AFTER MACKENZIE'S ENGHAVING FROM AN OHIGINAL PAINTING

ROBERT RICHFORD ROBERTS.

Sixth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Born 1778, died 1843.

the elective presiding eldership, again appeared, in a motion of Samuel Merwin so to amend the Discipline as to make the presiding elders elective by the Annual Conferences on the nomination of the bishops. It was defeated by a majority of eighteen votes.

The overtures of the London Missionary Society, through its delegates, Black and Bennett, relative to some amicable arrangement, resulted in the retention of the Canadian work



BISHOP ROBERTS'S CABIN.

In such a house he lived, 1805-1808, as a preacher, and afterward

under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church. On slavery there was advance beyond that provision which relegated it to the several Conferences. It was declared that "no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter where the laws of

the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom."

The General Conference of 1820 met in Baltimore, and consisted of eighty-nine delegates from eleven Conferences. It was a time of debate. The Canadian question demanded attention, the difference of political allegiance being the cause of trouble. The Conference declared "that Christians should be subject to the supreme authority of the country where they may reside," and the bishops were empowered to form an Annual Conference in Canada if necessary. John Emory was sent as a delegate to treat with the English Conference.

The Missionary Society, which had come into existence since the last General Conference, was approved and adopted. Additional legislation looking to the establishment of literary institutions in the Conferences was passed.

On May 13 Joshua Soule was elected bishop by a vote of forty-seven to thirty-eight for Nathan Bangs. The debate on the election of presiding elders caused him later to resign the office. From O'Kelly's time efforts had been made to change the method of stationing the preachers. In 1800 an attempt to restrict the powers of the bishops failed, and in 1808 the question of the elective presiding eldership very nearly defeated the establishment of a constitutional government. In 1812 it came within four votes of being adopted. In 1816 it was again rejected. The following resolutions were introduced:

- I. That whenever, in any Annual Conference, there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the bishop of president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, the number wanted; provided, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected; provided, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.
- 2. That the presiding elders be, and hereby are, made the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

After considerable debate a committee of six was appointed, three from each side—Cooper, Bangs, and Emory for the affirmative, and S. G. Roszel, Joshua Wells, and William Capers for the negative—to confer with the bishops. No agreement was reached, but in a conference with Bishop George the committee understood that the bishops favored

the plan, whereupon all six appended their names and it passed the Conference by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-five.

Joshua Soule thereupon declined to serve as bishop, on the ground of the unconstitutionality of the resolution. The motion to reconsider was lost by a tie vote. The next day



FATHER WRIGHT'S, NEAR EDWARDSVILLE, ILL.

In 1817 Bishop Roberts held the first session of the Illinois Conference in this house,

Soule resigned, and on the following day it was voted to suspend the resolutions until the next General Conference. Soule, however, refused to withdraw his resignation. The bishops were divided on the question. McKendree strongly opposed them, and wrote a paper to the Conferences showing their infringement of the Restrictive Rules. Roberts agreed with McKendree, while George rather favored the innovation. An important outgrowth of this debate was the establishment of the so-called "cabinet," by which the presiding



AFTER BUTTRE'S ENGRAVING FROM THE DAGUERREOTYPE BY C. C. HUGHES.

JOSHUA SOULE.

Seventh bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Born 1781, died 1867, consecrated 1824.

Became bishop of the Methodist Episcopal-Church, South, 1846.



elders became "the advisory council of the bishop in stationing the preachers."

The General Conference of 1824 assembled in Baltimore, and consisted of one hundred and twenty-five delegates from twelve Conferences. All the bishops were present. Five new Conferences were organized, of which Canada was one. Richard Reece and John Hannah brought the greetings of the British Methodists. The address of the bishops was read and referred to the various committees. Education, missions, and the care of the children were given due emphasis, and steps were taken toward the establishment of a mission in Liberia. Nathan Bangs and John Emory were elected Book Agents. Authority was given them to issue a weekly paper, and the Christian Advocate forthwith appeared on September 9, 1826.

Memorials looking toward lay delegation were received, but failed of passage. This refusal precipitated the "Radical Controversy," which culminated at the ensuing General Conference and resulted in the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church.

The burning question was again the elective presiding eldership. The "suspended resolutions" had necessarily carried over the discussion from the last General Conference. The opponents of the resolutions, not feeling confident of their ability to repeal them, moved the continuance of the suspension for four years more. Then came the struggle. Every vote was important. Some one recollected that one of the delegates was then preaching at a church nearly a mile distant. Posthaste a messenger was sent, who crawled up behind the preacher and pulled his coat, and, telling him his message, remained to close the service, while the delegate hastened to the Conference—only to find that the

vote had been already taken. The net result of the action of 1824 was to declare the suspended resolutions were unfinished business, and that they were not to be inserted in the revised form of the Discipline nor carried into effect.

The question was a large factor in the election of bishops. Joshua Soule and William Beauchamp were the leading candidates of the conservatives and Elijah Hedding and John Emory of the advocates of the elective eldership. On the first ballot there was no election. On the second ballot Soule was elected, and on the withdrawal of Emory the third ballot resulted in the election of Hedding.

Soule has been called "the most dominating personality in American Methodism, next to Bishop Asbury." He was the "father of the constitution," had resigned after having been elected to the episcopacy, and was again chosen after four years of agitation. A native of Maine, he was forty-three years of age at this time. He was a leader of New England Methodism, a famous polemic, a close student, and had been editor of the Methodist Magazine, book steward, and presiding elder. He represented the Baltimore Conference at the time of his elevation to the episcopacy.

William Beauchamp was a strong man in his day, and probably would have been elected a bishop had he not been out of the itinerancy so much of his time. He was a native of Delaware, and preached with great acceptance in Pittsburg, New York, and Boston. In 1816 he was the editor of the Western Christian Monitor, the only monthly magazine then in the Church. He was called the Demosthenes of the West.

Hedding had been urged to become a candidate in 1820, but had refused. It was with great reluctance he now accepted the honor. He was a native of New York, but early

removed to Vermont. He became presiding elder of the New London District in 1809, and a delegate to the General Conferences of 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. His statesman-



ENGRAVED BY PRUD HOMME FROM THE PORTRAIT BY PINE.

ELIJAH HEDDING.

Eighth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Born 1780, died 1852, consecrated 1824.

ship was recognized, and his opinion was regarded as almost final in matters of ecclesiastical law. He aided in establishing Methodism firmly in Boston, and was one of the founders of Zion's Herald, in the year 1823. His episcopal services were conservative and constructive.

Meanwhile the Church had made great advancement in numbers and efficiency of administration. Large societies were being organized whose influence widely extended the power of the growing Church. The membership had exceeded in its rate of increase the marvelous growth of the national population, which between 1810 and 1830 slightly exceeded seventy-seven per cent, while Methodism, which in 1816 numbered 214,235 members and 695 preachers, had grown to 421,156 members and 1,642 ministers. The increase of membership in eight years was more than one hundred per cent, while the number of preachers had more than doubled.



CHAPTER LXVII

The Westward March—Beyond the Alleghanies

METHODISM IN PACE WITH THE NEW STATES.—GROWTH OF THE CONFERENCES.—HEROES FOR THE EMERGENCY.—FINLEY, SWAYZE, ELLIOTT, QUINN, YOUNG, AND WALKER.—NEW WARRIORS READY FOR THE GREAT SUCCESSION.

HE westward march of Methodism was only part of a greater movement. The star of empire pointed that way. The century opened with a population of 5,305,937 in the whole country, of which there were in the West 345,711 whites and nearly 200,000 blacks, or about one tenth of the whole population. The acquisition in 1803 of Louisiana, that vast tract of land reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, along the west bank of the Mississippi and westward to the Rockies and beyond, gave great impetus to immigration. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the Oregon country, the following year, opened yet larger areas for expansion. By 1820 the total population had increased to 9,638,191, about a million less than double that of 1800, while the West had 1,559,280 whites and about 220,025 colored, being considerably over three times as many as twenty years before. By the West we mean the Northwest Territory, together with Kentucky and Tennessee. The 667

center of population had traveled fifty miles westward along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, and in 1830 reached the western limits of Maryland; that is to say, what had been in 1770 the westernmost limit of population, sixty years later had become its center, and by 1840 was fifty-five miles beyond toward the setting sun.

The chronology of the admission of States into the Union



CAMPUS MARTIUS, MARIETTA, O.

A typical frontier stockade.

is an index of the movement of population. Ohio had been admitted in 1802, Indiana became a State in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, while in the interval Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Alabama, and Arkansas had also come in. Thus by 1840 the territory east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Wisconsin, had all been erected into States, and population had crossed this flood of waters at St. Louis

and created a commonwealth there. By 1840 in the strictly Western States there were 4,576,877 inhabitants in a total population of 17,069,453.

A great fact, having immense bearing upon the history of American civilization, should be noticed. This movement of the people prior to 1820 was from the Eastern to the Western States. It was an American migration. Immigration from abroad averaged scarcely more than eight thousand a year—Schouler estimates but five thousand annually to 1815 -- from the close of the Revolution to 1820. This American settlement of the West followed parallels of latitude, so that the various seaboard States projected themselves toward the wilderness. It is a happy fact that the West had fixed its American political and religious status before the great flood of foreign immigration came pouring in upon the land. It is estimated that not more than two hundred and fifty thousand immigrants had entered American ports prior to 1820, but that by 1884 there had crossed the sea and settled in the United States thirteen million souls, or an average of about two hundred thousand annually.

The nationality of this enormous influx of people plays a large part in the American problem. From 1820 to 1825 it was in great measure from the British Isles; but in the latter year it was almost half Irish. In 1832 the Germans came over in large numbers, and later, owing to political agitation in Russia and elsewhere in Europe, its complexion changed. By 1850 the percentage of foreign-born was estimated at 9.68 per cent, or 2,244,602 in a total population of 23,191,876, and in no State to the present day has the foreign-born exceeded the native population.

Civilization went hand in hand with this growth of population. Cities sprang up as if by magic. Many that before

had been mere straggling villages began to grow. St. Louis had but 900 inhabitants at the beginning of the century. Cincinnati was a small village in 1810, but by 1840 it had a population of 46,338. New Orleans grew from 17,242 in 1810 to 102,193 in 1840, and other places in the same proportion. The steamboat, the railroad, and the telegraph



FROM THE WOODCUT IN HOWE'S HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF OHIO

VIEW OF CINCINNATI IN 1810.

came in due time, but the Western expansion of the last two came after our period. The routes of this migration were either from the older Southern States to Louisiana and the Mississippi country, or from the Eastern States to the Northwest. There were two routes, one through the interior of Pennsylvania and the other by western New York and the great lakes. Asbury frequently mentions scenes among the mountains of Pennsylvania. Pittsburg was the rendezvous, many thousands floating down the Ohio on their broadhorn barges as far as the mouth of that river. Fleets of these boats could be seen passing down together, and wild scenes

of dissipation were common. Gambling, tippling, fighting, were daily occurrences.

The great material expansion and prosperity deadened the sense of spiritual things, and the task of the preacher was thus rendered more arduous. Lawlessness, that accompaniment of frontier life, prevailed everywhere. The gambler, the horse thief, and all kinds of fugitives from justice found their refuge in the new country. The Indian still lurked in the forests, and human life was sometimes sacrificed to his vengeance. Great warriors like Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Black Hawk called the red man to arms. He retreated sullenly and unwillingly toward the sunset.

The Methodist preacher was in this throng, holding aloft the banner of the cross and calling men to repentance. The last century had seen Barnabas McHenry, Jeremiah Lambert, Francis Poythress, in the West. From the Holston country, in East Tennessee, Methodism moved into the middle and southern West. In May, 1787, the first Conference beyond the Alleghanies was held, falling in the very year when the celebrated "ordinance" was passed which excluded slavery from the Northwest Territory.

The ubiquitous Asbury, in his annual circuit of six thousand miles, frequently found his way there, and organized the Western Conference early in the century. It included almost all the territory beyond the mountains. Great men were growing up whom the nation should honor. Clay, Jackson, Cass, Barton, Douglass, Lincoln, were worthy successors of the Eastern patriots. Methodism was to find there men who could well follow in the steps of Asbury and Lee. The very air palpitated with prophecies of future greatness. Thomas Jefferson had in imagination mapped out commonwealths which should arise in the Mississippi valley. Asbury's

soul thrilled with the expectation of great things. He looked for "as many as five Conferences there." But even his amazing faith did not equal the later fact.

Men of heroic mold, with hearts of oak and souls of fire, ready for any danger, equal to any emergency and sacrifice, gave themselves to the noble enterprise of founding a spirit-



HARRISON HOUSE, VINCENNES, IND.

Built by Governor William Henry Harrison. Often opened for preaching in the early days of Methodism.

ual empire in these lands. Roberts, McKendree, Blackman, Burke, Sale, Strange, Quinn, the Youngs, Axley, Jesse Walker, Finley, Cartwright, and Akers were a few of the Methodist pioneers in this region. Their circuits reached over vast areas and their pay was almost nothing. Theirs was the joy of unbroken success. Their sufferings were beyond credence, yet they cheerfully endured, and went from one triumph to another.

The advance of Methodism is marked by the appearance of new districts and Conferences. In 1804 the whole West was included in the Western Conference. Methodism entered Indiana in 1802, at the same time with the Baptists and three years before the Presbyterians. In 1804 Benjamin Young was appointed to Illinois as missionary there, and in 1805 sixty-seven members were reported. The itinerant visited Detroit in 1803, and in 1804 Nathan Bangs preached there. The first Methodist society in Michigan was formed at Monroe, in 1811. In 1830 there were but 676 members in the whole State. In 1806 the Mississippi District appears, and in 1808 that district returned 415 members. In 1812 the old Western Conference disappears, and becomes the Tennessee and Ohio Conferences, with a membership of 45,000. The General Conference of 1816 constituted four Conferences in the West—Ohio, Tennessee, Missouri, and Mississippi, the last two reporting respectively 3,173 and 1,941 members. The Kentucky Conference appears in the Minutes of 1822.

In 1826 the Pittsburg Conference was created, with a membership of 17,187, and 98 preachers. By 1828 the West had 118,084 members out of a total for the Union of 421,156. Ten years later the entire membership of American Methodism was 740,459, of which about 300,000 were in the West, including the Pittsburg Conference. In that decade the Ohio Conference had grown from 30,899 to 51,945, the Illinois Conference from 16,097 to 22,384, the Indiana from nothing to 35,258, and Pittsburg from 21,179 to 30,930.

The total Protestant membership of the Mississippi valley was in 1830, according to Dorchester, 348,490, with 4,455 churches and 2,476 preachers in a total population of 4,000,000. Of this number the Presbyterians had 60,487, the Baptists 90,000, and the Methodists 173,083.

Yet with all this great progress the West was still destitute of religious privileges. This appears from the fact that in Kentucky, with a population of 687,917, there were but 550 ministers, having access to perhaps 250,000 souls; leaving 437,000 persons beyond the reach of the Church. Ohio, with a population of 937,903, had but 600 ministers within her borders, reaching perhaps 400,000 people; leaving over



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF.

FROM A SKETCH BY REV. A. M. COURTENAY.

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, CHILLICOTHE, O., 1807.

The society was organized in 1805. In 1807 Asbury held a session of the Western Conference here. The building stood on the north side of Second Street. It was destroyed by fire in 1820. Our drawing follows the builder's plans and specifications.

half a million beyond the pale of the Church. It was even worse in Michigan, Missouri, and Louisiana.

The Methodists entered Wisconsin in 1836, and in 1837 there were 172 members reported. An Annual Conference was held in 1850, when there were 75 ministers and 8,400 communicants. Methodism crossed the upper Mississippi in 1833, and entered Iowa. Its population in 1840 was 43,000, and ten years later a Conference was formed in that State, with 62 preachers, who served a membership of 11,420.

By 1850 the three leading Protestant denominations in the United States reported their membership: Baptists, 815,212, an increase in twenty years of 720,000, or 36,000 per annum;

Presbyterians, 487,691, an increase in the same period of 427,000, or 21,000 yearly; and Methodists, 1,325,631, an increase of 849,478, or an annual growth of nearly 42,500.

In 1844, when the Church was divided, there were in the United States 1,139,587 communicants; traveling preachers, 4,479; local preachers, 8,101; an excess of 399,126 over the membership reported in 1838, six years before. In that interval new Conferences had been formed as follows: Rock River, North Ohio, Iowa, North Indiana, Memphis, East Texas, West Texas, Florida, and the Liberia Mission, a majority of which were in the West. There were 352,000 members in the West in 1844, including the Tennessee, Holston, and Pittsburg Conferences; an increase in six years of 52,000 converts.

Such in outline are the results accomplished in the West during the period now under consideration. Such effects argue adequate causes, and these were found, humanly speaking, in the great men who were raised up to lead in this mighty movement—instruments they were of that great Spirit whose breath filled the land with evidences of his power and presence. There is always a man behind an event, a biography behind a history. A few only of the hosts of great men of this era can be mentioned.

McKendree had made his mark as presiding elder of the Western District in the first decade of the century. Afterward as a bishop he was a leader there, as was Roberts, whose training was in the same region. A typical pioneer Methodist preacher was James B. Finley. He was of stalwart frame, capable of coping with any adversaries and conquering them physically, if not always spiritually. He became noted as a missionary to the Indians and an historian of no mean ability.

His conversion was noteworthy. Borne along by the westward migrations, he found himself in early manhood with his father's family in the Northwest Territory. He was a



One of the most successful of the pioneer preachers and missionaries on the Western frontier.

mighty hunter, given to excesses, and afraid of nothing. The camp meetings attracted him. At Cane Ridge, Ky., he visited one. Twenty-five thousand people were present. The noise was as the roar of Niagara. Seven preachers were preaching at once, and the people were singing, praying, and crying for mercy, all at the same time. A strange preternatural power seized him. He fled from the grounds, but was drawn back. The same awe came over him. He says: "I saw five hundred swept down in a moment, as if a thousand guns had been opened upon them." He fled in terror from the place, his hair on end. He drank a dram of brandy to recover himself, but felt worse than ever. Again he was drawn to the meeting. On his way home he went to the woods to pray, and his cries were so loud the people thought him crazy, save one old German, who took him to his house and prayed with him until the dawn of heaven broke on his soul. In 1809 John Sale called him to travel Scioto Circuit. Thenceforth, throughout the West for many years Finley performed incredible labors.

William Swayze succeeded him on his district in 1819, and more than any man he founded Methodism on the southern shores of Lake Erie.

One of the preachers under him was Charles Elliot, an Irishman of fine education, who came to America in 1814 and was received into the Ohio Conference in 1819, being appointed to the Zanesville Circuit with Thomas A. Morris, afterward bishop. For years Elliot was a founder of Methodism in all this region, being presiding elder, missionary among the Upper Sandusky Indians, professor of languages in the Madison College, and editor of several papers. He was also president of the Iowa Wesleyan University. As an author he upheld the honor of his Church in the troublous times at the close of our period.

An heroic figure of the West at this time was James Quinn. In 1801 Asbury appointed him to the Pittsburg District, then including all the present Erie, Pittsburg, and West Virginia

Conferences. There was not as yet a single society, and the aged bishop, pressing him to his bosom, gave him a Discipline, and said, "Go, my son, and make full proof of thy ministry." He called forth many itinerants from secular



ALFRED BRUNSON.

Missionary to the Sioux and Chippewa Indians.

life. Fry laid down his carpenter's tools. Joseph Carson was making shoes, and Simon Lauk manufacturing guns. In their shops were a Bible, grammar, logic, some book on science or theology. They all became able ministers. Quinn is said to have attended or superintended from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty camp meetings.

Benjamin Young was the first itinerant in Illinois. He entered there in 1804, although other Methodists had preceded him—as Captain John Ogle in 1785, Joseph Lillard in 1793, and also John Clark and Hosea Riggs.

The successor of Young was the redoubtable Jesse Walker, the free lance whose missionary zeal kept him ever moving on. When settlements took shape he was heard of among the Indian tribes of the far Northwest. He was of remarkable physical strength. He never was tired, could not be lost in the wilderness, and never complained. His first year's work resulted in the accession of two hundred and eighteen members. Thenceforth he alternated yearly between Illinois and Missouri until 1812, when as presiding elder he had charge of both. In 1819 he was made Conference missionary, to break up new ground. In 1820 he planted the standard of Methodism in St. Louis, and in 1823 he went to the Indian tribes on the upper Mississippi. In 1830 he was appointed to the Chicago Mission, and in 1835 he died in peace. Cartwright had a filial love for him, because he started him on his ministerial career.

Other leaders among these itinerant hosts were Samuel Parker the eloquent, who, with the eccentric James Axley, entered the fold at the same time with Peter Cartwright. Then there were Alfred Brunson, William Burke, David Young, Learner Blackman, a martyr to his work; William Beauchamp, almost a bishop; John Collins, founder of Methodism in Cincinnati and spiritual father of Judge McLean, and John Strange, whose appearance in the pulpit Bishop Ames describes as peculiar, almost angelic. His eloquence would lift audiences to their feet. His last words were, "Serve God and fight the devil." Even more eloquent than Strange was Russell Bigelow, whose power was "indescribable."

Bishop Thomson, who, when a student, heard Bigelow at a camp meeting, says of him that "the audience were well nigh paralyzed beneath the avalanche of thought that de-



REV. RUSSELL BIGELOW.

scended upon them. He preached to audiences as large and with effects as astonishing as I have ever witnessed."

Others still there were whose fame reaches to our time: Henry B. Bascom, Thomas A. Morris, John P. Durbin, Peter Akers, and Matthew Simpson were preparing for their great work.



CHAPTER LXVIII

Growth in the Central States

REMARKABLE GROWTH.—THE STRANGE STORY OF LYONS.—METHODISM IN TRANSITION.—NATHAN BANGS.—JOHN EMORY.—THE BISHOP'S GIFT.

HE years from 1808 to 1844 were also remarkable for the development of the Church in the central States. While following the settler toward the setting sun Methodism was winning an assured place for itself in the more mature centers of American life. Such fields are frequently more difficult than the untrammeled wilderness. When this period opened the denomination had already been forty years in the region, and had sufficiently demonstrated its right to live. The area which includes the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware was the most populous of the Union. In the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Washington, and Albany numerous revivals broke out from time to time and extended the influence of Methodism.

In 1807 Asbury wrote: "I have good reason to believe that upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland four thousand have been converted and one thousand sanctified, besides souls convicted and quickened and restored. Our Pentecost for sanctification is fully come in some places. Ten camp meetings north of New York in about two months and more laid out. Now I think we congregate two millions in a year, and I hope for one hundred thousand souls convicted, converted, restored, or sanctified. Such a work of God I believe



OLD EBENEZER CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1811.

never was known for the number of people." The memory of that great revival still lingers in the churches.

It was a time of church building and of construction in every department. The old wooden structures which the exigencies of early days had necessitated gave place to more commodious and handsome buildings. John Street was rebuilt in 1817, and rededicated on January 4, 1818. In 1810 two new churches were built in New York city, in Allen and Bedford Streets, and another in 1818 at the Two Mile Stone, from which arose the Seventh Street Church.

Methodism was meanwhile extending up the Hudson. In

1809 a chapel was built in Troy, which became a station in 1810. Great revivals occurred there in 1815 and 1817. In Albany, the building of the Division Street Church in 1813 gave a great impulse to the cause in that city. In Schenectady a church was built in 1809, and in 1816 it became a



THE SECOND METHODIST CHURCH IN JOHN STREET, NEW YORK.

Dedicated January 4, 1818, on the site of Wesley Chapel. Rev. Nathan Bangs, Samuel Merwin, and Joshua Soule preached on that occasion.

station under Laban Clark. In 1807 Peter Vannest forded the Genesee River near the present site of Rochester, and the next year George Lane, afterward book agent, held the first camp meeting in the region, and crossed the Alleghanies into Pennsylvania in what is now the territory of the Erie Conference.

The introduction of Methodism into Lyons, N. Y., is a wonderful story. We give it as typical of the process of evolution. The little congregation there was frequently disturbed while at worship. Thomas Smith, famous in New Jersey and elsewhere, was preaching. He stopped, fixed the attention of the congregation, and said, "I should not wonder if Lyons should be visited to-morrow in a way that it has never been before, and perhaps never will be till the end of time." Great interest was aroused by this remark. Next day, and accompanied at his invitation by Mrs. Judge Dorsey, a Methodist lady of prominence, he began a systematic visitation from house to house. Crowds followed them until a procession numbering three or four hundred visited house after house, praying for the people. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon a halt was made on the village green, and the converts were invited to step within the circle. Thirty-two came forward, who with eight others became the nucleus of the church in Lyons. So rapidly did Methodism spread throughout the Lake region that in 1810 Asbury organized the work as a separate Conference called the Genesee.

This historic event took place on July 20, 1810, in the barn of Judge Dorsey. The new Conference was composed of 3 districts, 28 circuits, and 10,683 members. By 1820 it had become 8 districts, 74 circuits, and 23,934 members. The Canadian territory, being set apart as a Conference in 1824, consisted of 36 preachers, 6,072 white, 22 colored, and 56 Indian members. In 1839 there were, besides the Genesee Conference, the Erie Conference, organized in 1836–1837, with a membership of 17,468 whites, 46 colored, and 103 traveling preachers; the Oneida Conference, with 21,129 members and 133 traveling preachers; the Black River Conference, with a membership of 14,986 and 84 preachers; and the Pittsburg and Troy Conferences, with members numbering respectively 31,075 and 22,547, served by 125 preachers in the former and 141 in the latter Conference.

Thus, in spite of secessions and controversies, the Church had grown beyond all precedent in the religious history of the country. The New Jersey Conference, which was formed in 1836, numbered 21,002 members and 106 preachers. All the older Conferences in the meantime continued to grow in numbers and wealth, notwithstanding the losses of territory



DUANE STREET CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, NEW YORK, 1797.

Corner stone laid by Rev. George Roberts, June 29, 1797. Originally called "North River" or "Hudson" Church.

and membership consequent upon the formation of the new ecclesiastical divisions. For example, Baltimore grew from 21,054 white and 7,143 black, in 1808, to 50,663 in 1839; Philadelphia from 36,598 to 40,299, and New York from 18,845 to 34,599.

It was evident that Methodism was in process of transformation long before the period closed. The division of circuits, the building of parsonages, the improvement of church architecture, and the organization of schools were signs of growth of the denomination. The nation itself was entering

upon an era of great improvement. Wealth was increasing. Machinery, invention, agriculture, transportation, and travel were revolutionizing society. The steam engine, the spinning wheel and jenny, the cotton gin, railroads and steamboats were transforming the entire aspect of American life.



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

GREEN HILL'S HOUSE.

Situated about twelve miles from Nashville, Tenn. An Annual Conference was held at Liberty Hill in 1808, the business of which was transacted at this house. McKendree presided, though Asbury was present.

Methodism was borne along in the current, and while acting on others was being reacted upon by its new environment. Under the circumstances it was necessary, therefore, that a new type of preacher should appear, or, rather, that there should be seen side by side with the men of the past

new types of men who should better represent the new era. The heroic age was passing away. Asbury, Lee, McKendree were to be succeeded by the man of culture, whose advent had hitherto been delayed by the order of events. It is nothing against the fathers that they were not college men. A few only of the early itinerants had had great advantages. It might have injured more than it could help in the peculiar work to which Providence had called them.

With the gradual disappearance of the circuit and the development of the station, in the conflicts of polemical strife, and in very justice to their own growing communion, it was necessary that better furnished men should appear. The pulpit must at least keep pace with the pew. The man of letters was necessary, as Boanerges and the Elijahs had been hitherto. God always has the man for the hour. As from the famous German clock the figure of a man would arise and, taking the hammer, strike the hour upon a gong and then sink back out of sight, so Methodism was to find, rising out of her communion, the men who should strike the high noon of her prosperity. We have seen how, in New England, Martin Ruter, Joshua Soule, Elijah Hedding, and Wilbur Fisk had brought in the new era. John P. Durbin was the gift of the West, while in the Middle States the preeminent names were Nathan Bangs and John Emory.

These were not the only great men whom the central States contributed to the denomination during the present period. Stephen George Roszel, Beverly Waugh, John Davis, John A. Collins, Alfred Griffith, Charles Giles, Peter P. Sanford, Phineas Rice, Coles Carpenter, Stephen Martindale, Seth Mattison, Joseph Lybrand, Manning Force, Tobias Spicer, Elisha Williams, John Potts, Elias Bowen, John Dempster, George Peck, Fitch Reed, Job Guest, Jacob

Gruber, George Roberts, and Marvin Richardson were other notable names which cannot perish.

The services of Nathan Bangs equal those of any man in



FROM PRUD'HOMME'S ENGRAVING AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY J. PINE.

PETER P. SANFORD.

the history of the Church, always excepting Asbury. Abel Stevens's characterization may thus be summarized: Nathan Bangs was a representative man in the Methodist Episcopal

Church for more than half a century. During sixty years he appeared almost constantly in its pulpits. He was the founder of its periodical literature and of its Conference Course of Study, and one of the founders of its present educational system. He was the first missionary secretary appointed by the General Conference, the first clerical editor of its Quarterly Review, and for many years the chief editor of its Monthly Magazine and its book publications. He may be pronounced the principal founder of the American literature of Methodism. Besides his innumerable miscellaneous writings for its periodicals, he wrote more volumes in its defense than any other man, and became its recognized historian. He was one of the founders of the Missionary Society; indeed, the chief one. He wrote the constitution, and for sixteen years labored gratuitously as its secretary. For twenty years he wrote all its annual reports. The society is a monument to him and makes him historic in the annals of American Protestantism.

Of few men can such a eulogy be given. Bangs was born at Stratford, Conn., on May 2, 1778, and became a teacher in Canada, where the preaching of the itinerants awoke him. He was converted in 1800, and was licensed to preach in August, 1801. Of his call he related: "One day, as I was walking the road in deep meditation upon this subject, a sudden ray of divine illumination struck my mind like a flash of lightning, accompanied with the words, 'I have anointed thee to preach the Gospel.' I sank to the ground and cried out, 'Here am I!'" He even dreamed of his new career. "On a mountain height he saw Wesley, the mighty evangelist, passing with great velocity, in a chariot of light, throwing out to him a shining sword, and crying, 'Take this and conquer!'" "I awoke," he

writes, "and, behold! it was a dream; but one of thrilling suggestions."

Bangs remained in Canada until 1808, when he returned to the States and was appointed to the Delaware Circuit. He had married early for an itinerant, but Asbury, in view of his fine appearance and excellent character, excused him,



PAINTED BY PINE

PHINEAS RICE.

ens would be all after him, but, as he has conducted the matter very well, let his character pass." After serving the Albany Circuit he was appointed to New York city. He then became presiding elder on Rhinebeck and New York Districts. Afterward he served as book agent, editor, and mis-

saying, "I knew the young maid-

sionary secretary, and narrowly escaped the episcopacy. His published works have found a permanent place in the Church. He died full of years and honors.

Had John Emory lived, he would have attained preeminent greatness, but his early death deprived the Church of one of her greatest sons. He was born in Queen Anne County,



FROM AN ENGRAVING BY BJTTRE AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY BRADY.

NATHAN BANGS, D.D.



Md., in 1789. His parents were Methodists, and he was religiously trained. He joined the Church in his seventeenth year, and after obtaining a classical education devoted himself to the study of law. When he abandoned his ambitious hopes for the Methodist itinerancy there was no young man in his native State whose prospects were more flattering. Two years before his majority he was admitted to the bar, but he turned from every prospect of wealth and fame to the ministry. After a fearful struggle in 1800 he made a covenant upon his knees, written and signed, that he would preach the Gospel. His father refused him a horse, and for two years would not hear him preach or receive letters from him. In 1810 he joined the Philadelphia Conference and was sent to Caroline Circuit, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1816 he was elected to the General Conference, being then but twenty-seven years of age. In 1820 he represented the Methodist Episcopal Church at the British Conference, and in 1824 was made assistant book agent with Nathan Bangs. In 1828 he was elected book agent in New York, with Beverly Waugh as his assistant. In 1832 he was elected bishop, and gave marks of extraordinary ability. In 1835 he was found on the roadside, bleeding and insensible. He had been on his way to Baltimore and had suffered death from an unmanageable horse. He died without regaining consciousness.

Emory was slight of figure, weighing but one hundred and twenty-five pounds. His features expressed thoughtfulness, decision, and kindness. The Church up to his day had produced no better equipped man. He was precocious, and his ability attracted the attention of Asbury. An unpublished anecdote illustrates Asbury's way with men. In the olden times speech was the privilege of the elders only. It was the

part of the youth to remain silent. At one of the Conferences in the Light Street Church there had been much debate, and a tangle had ensued. Asbury was no parliamentarian



AFTER LONGACRE'S ENGRAVING.

PAINTED BY J. JACKSON, R.A.

JOHN EMORY.

Tenth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, born 1789, died 1835. Assistant publishing agent in New York, 1824-1828; publishing agent, 1828-1832; consecrated as bishop, 1832.

and young Emory, to the surprise and dread of everybody, arose to speak, and with a few well-chosen words opened the way for business. Everyone expected a rebuke from Asbury, but Emory was permitted to take his seat. After a while Bishop Asbury was seen to beckon to Emory, who went to his chair and, without a word from either, received something from the bishop's hand. There was a look of surprise on the face of Emory, but he quietly took his seat. Curiosity was aroused, and his brethren besought Emory to tell them what Father Asbury had given him, but he would not answer. Finally they caught him on the street and compelled him to confess. "Well, brethren, if you must know it, it was a raisin." Neither he nor they knew what was meant except that John had been a good boy, even though he had broken Conference rules.

The time would fail us to tell of the Deborahs and Baraks who made their fame in the service of the Church during the period we are attempting to describe.



CHAPTER LXIX

Organized Missions

THE GOSPEL FOR THE INDIANS.—STEWART AMONG THE WYANDOTS.—
ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—EARLY STRUGGLES
AND LATER ACHIEVEMENTS.—A NOBLE RECORD.

RECLAIMED negro drunkard was the beginner of the work of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In Marietta, O., one Sabbath in the year 1816 the Rev. Marcus Lindsay had as one of his hearers a negro named John Stewart, who had been, and then was, an inebriate. Stewart became a Christian. A prayer, a voice, a journey, another negro reformed, and Indians—these are the links which bound Stewart to the great missionary enterprise. Bangs relates that soon after Stewart became converted he formed the habit of going into the fields to pray. It was while praying one day that he heard a voice saying, "You must declare my counsel faithfully." The voice seemed to come from the northwest direction. Stewart soon found himself upon his feet speaking as if to a congregation. He could not rid himself of the impression that there were people somewhere in the direction whence the voice came to whom he must go to preach. He shouldered his knapsack and set off through the forests facing the northwest,

696

yet not knowing whither he went. He says, "When I set off my soul was very happy, and I steered my course, sometimes in the road, sometimes through the woods, until I came to Goshen, where I found the Delaware Indians." He found the Delawares singing and preparing for a war dance. He sang for them some Methodist melodies, which greatly charmed them. After preaching to them, thinking that his



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BEVINGTON & CRESS.

OLD WYANDOT MISSION HOUSE, 1886.

mission was fulfilled, he would have returned to Marietta, but the call to go further was strong, and he did not resist. He journeyed to the Upper Sandusky, and finally arrived at the house of William Walker, agent of the Wyandot Indians. Here the voice ceased. He realized that here his work was to be. But he could not speak the language of the Wyandots. What should he do? Among the Indians he found an old negro acquaintance, Jonathan Pointer, a fugitive slave from Kentucky. Stewart demanded that Pointer be his interpreter, and these two spent a night wrestling in prayer,

resulting in Pointer's conversion. The next day Stewart preached to one old squaw; the second day an old man joined. This was the first Methodist congregation among the Indians. It was not long before crowds came to hear him, and many conversions followed. Robert Armstrong, who had in his youth been taken prisoner and adopted by the Turtle tribe, and the chiefs Between-the-Logs, Mononcue,



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BEVINGTON & CRES

THE OLD WYANDOT MISSION HOUSE.

As restored, 1889.

Hicks, and Scuteash were among the converts. A mission church was built, and near its hallowed walls, which were restored in 1889, this apostle to the Wyandots now rests, awaiting the resurrection of the just.

The outcome of the remarkable call and success of the humble negro preacher was the organization of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This, however, was not the beginning of missionary work among Methodists. In 1769, when the first preachers were sent to America, the British Wesleyan Conference gave £50 to the Church in New York and £20 to help pay the passage of the

missionaries. In 1784, when the Church was organized at Baltimore, two missionaries were sent to Nova Scotia, and a collection was taken for them. Bishop Asbury raised funds for what he called the "Mite Society," and with their aid sent preachers to the Western frontiers. This was real missionary work.

In 1819 Gabriel P. Disosway, "a young, enterprising merchant of New York city," had urged upon Dr. Bangs the immediate organization of a society for mission work. Already local societies had been formed in Philadelphia and Boston, and there was every evidence that the Church at large was beginning to be stirred.

In 1818 the Rev. Laban Clark offered a resolution in the meeting of the preachers of New York city providing for the organization of a Bible and Missionary Society for the Methodist Episcopal Church. At this time New York city was one circuit, and all the preachers met weekly for conference. The book agents, editors, and visiting preachers were in the habit of meeting with them. At the meeting in which Clark offered his resolution there were present Freeborn Garrettson, Nathan Bangs, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Soule, Thomas Mason, Seth Crowell, Samuel Howe, and Thomas Thorp. Clark's resolution was adopted, and Clarke, Bangs, and Garrettson were appointed a committee to draw up a constitution; at a subsequent meeting they reported a constitution which was approved. A large public meeting was held in the Bowery Church, April 5, 1819. Nathan Bangs presided and Francis Hall was secretary. The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That it is expedient for this meeting to form a Missionary and Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The constitution, already approved by the Preachers' Meeting, was adopted. Subscriptions were taken for the new society, and officers were elected as follows: Bishop William McKendree, president; Bishop Enoch George, first vice president; Bishop Robert R. Roberts, second vice president; Rev. Nathan Bangs, third vice president; Mr. Francis



J. B. FINLEY PREACHING TO THE WYANDOTS,

Hall, clerk; Mr. Daniel Ayres, recording steward; Rev. Thomas Mason, corresponding secretary; Rev. Joshua Soule, treasurer. Thirty-two managers were chosen at the same time.

The new society encountered considerable opposition. Friends of the American Bible Society, on the one hand, and the local missionary societies, which desired to continue the control of missionary funds raised in their own territory, on

the other, were slow to favor the new organization. The Church at large was apathetic. The comparative poverty of the members, the magnifying of difficulties, and the local rivalries discouraged many of the society's friends. However, auxiliaries were organized in a few places, the first one, in July, being the Female Missionary Society of New York. The latter lived nearly fifty years, and had a noble history. Its organization was soon followed by the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York. The Baltimore Conference was the first to form a Conference auxiliary, followed soon after by the Virginia and Genesee Conferences. A few other cities and towns formed auxiliaries, but the Church generally did not speedily adopt the new society. The first year brought \$823.64 into the treasury, of which amount over ten per cent was consumed in expenses, although there were no salaried officers. The first anniversary was held in the John Street Church, in New York, on April 17, 1820. The General Conference of 1820 had its attention called to the new organization in the episcopal address. The committee to whom the subject was referred reported in favor of the society, and the report was adopted, giving the society, and the missionary cause in general, a great and effectual impulse. The report said: "Methodism itself is a missionary system. Yield the missionary spirit and you yield the very lifeblood of the cause." It declared that "the time may not be come in which we should send our missionaries beyond the seas," but at the same time called attention to the nations that were flowing in upon us in an immense tide, especially the French and Spanish; also to the fields in the Canadas, the Floridas, in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, and particularly to the vast opportunities among the pagan aborigines of this continent.

The constitution was so changed as to separate the publishing of Bibles from the new society, and thus its opponents on that ground were appeared. It was also ordered that the bishops should appropriate and draw the funds of the society.

An effort was made to attract a large audience to the second anniversary. Celebrated speakers were invited to deliver ad-



CHARLES PITMAN, D.D.

Corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society, 1841-1850.

dresses, but the historian informs us that "only a part of them came." Had these gentlemen known the future, they would have taken pride in being prominent in the early history of this great connectional agency. As Joshua Soule said on one occasion during these discouraging beginnings, "The time will come when every man who assisted in the organi-

zation of this society, and persevered in the undertaking, will consider it one of the most honorable periods of his life."

The first considerable donation to the society—the sum of \$500—was that of Nehemiah Gregory, one of the managers. Other gifts soon followed. The Conferences generally organized auxiliary societies. The life and thrift of the new society were now assured.

In 1836 the General Conference, at the suggestion of the Missionary Board, decided that the time had come for the election of a man whose undivided service should be given to the society's affairs, and elected Nathan Bangs resident corresponding secretary. The effect of this appointment was immediate, in the steady increase of interest and of funds. Bangs was the life, and may indeed be considered "the father of the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

The General Conference of 1840 provided for three corresponding secretaries, and Nathan Bangs, William Capers, and E. R. Ames were selected. Bangs was at New York, Capers in the South, and Ames in the West. Bangs attended to the correspondence and management, while the others visited the missions to the Indians and negroes, stirred up the Conferences and churches, and otherwise increased throughout the Church the interest in the cause of missions generally.

The General Conference of 1844 chose only one instead of three secretaries. Bangs in 1841 had resigned, to take the presidency of the Wesleyan University, and Charles Pitman, of the New York Conference, selected to fill the vacancy, was elected by the General Conference of 1844 and again in 1848.

Some idea of the growth of sentiment in the Church with regard to the scope of the society is gained by noting the changes which were made in its name. In the first constitution it was the "Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America," rather than in the United States, for the founders proposed making the continents their field of operations. In 1828 the words "in America" were eliminated, for already the Church was looking beyond the seas. The constitution as then revised declared that the society was

"for the express purpose of enabling the several Annual Conferences more effectually to extend their missionary labors throughout the United States and elsewhere, and also to assist in the support and promotion of missionary schools."



JOHN P. DURBIN, D.D. Corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society. 1850-1872 Conference held the Honorary secretary, 1872-1876.

The General Conference of 1840 added the further words, "in our own and in foreign countries."

During Pitman's administration the missions in China, Germany, and Switzerland were inaugurated. California at this period attracted the attention of fortune hunters, and strong demands were made on the Church for men and means in order that the new country might be occupied for Christ.

Pitman resigned in 1850 and died in 1854. Up to 1844 the New York right to fill vacancies in

the office of corresponding secretary, but the General Conference that year transferred the power to the Board of Bishops, who, upon Pitman's resignation, appointed John P. Durbin. Important changes in the constitution of the society were made by the General Conference of 1844. By it the Church was divided into as many mission districts as there were effective bishops, and a General Missionary Committee was constituted by the appointment by the bishops of one man from each of these mission districts. This General Committee met annually in New York to determine the amount to be drawn for the ensuing year, and the proportion of the same for domestic and foreign missions. In conjunction with the board of managers and the bishop presiding at the New York Conference they were to determine what places in foreign lands should be occupied, and all other matters pertaining to these missions.

In 1872 and 1876 radical changes were made in which the broad intelligence of Durbin is to be seen. He possessed a very rare ability to do the business of the office. He was thorough, systematic, painstaking, and conscientious in the smallest matters. It was as if the great Head of the Church had made him for this very post, to which the General Conference four times reelected him; and the Church, when he ceased to be able longer to work, felt it a pleasure to retain him as honorary corresponding secretary until his death, on October 19, 1876. When he entered upon the office the income of the society was only \$100,000; when he died it was over six times as much. The appropriation to foreign fields grew from \$37,300 to nearly \$300,000. When he began his work Foochow was really the only foreign field; at his death our missions extended around the world. To his wisdom, foresight, comprehensiveness of view, and personal influence these grand results must be largely attributed. His monument is in every land.

The society is duly incorporated according to the laws of the State of New York, its corporate name being "The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The management and disposition of the affairs and property are vested in a board of managers consisting of the bishops, ex officio, thirty-two traveling ministers and thirty-two laymen elected by the General Conference. The board has authority to print books for Indian and foreign missions, and missions



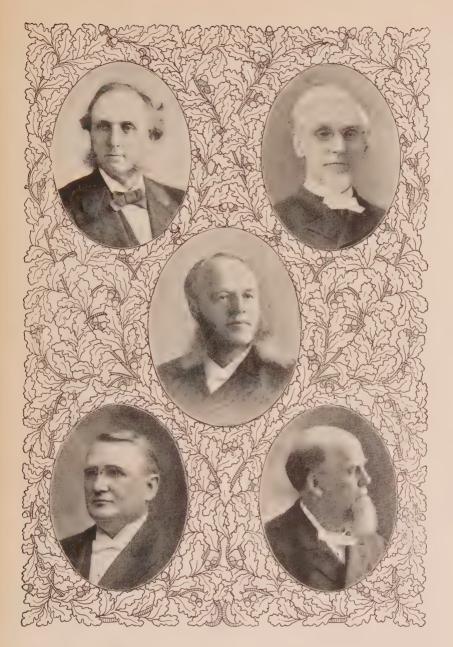
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1864.

THOMAS M. EDDY, D.D.

Corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society, 1872–
1874.

in which a foreign language is used; to elect their officers, and shall present a statement of its transactions and funds annually, to the Church, and quadrennially, to the General Conference. There is a corresponding secretary appointed by the General Conference, but subject to the direction and control of the board of managers. He is to conduct the correspondence of the society, furnish the Church with missionary intelligence, supervise the missionary work, and in every possible way promote the general in-

terests of the society. The General Committee—consisting of one representative appointed by the General Conference from each of the fourteen General Conference districts into which the entire Church is divided, and fourteen representatives appointed by the board of managers from its own membership, together with the bishops, the corresponding secre-



CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ROBERT L. DASHIELL, D.D., 1872-1880.

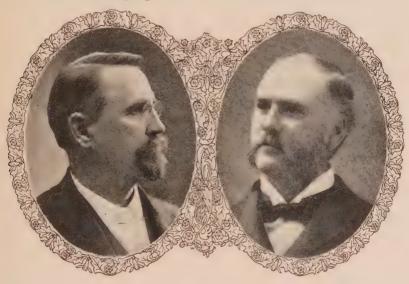
ABRAHAM J. PALMER, D.D., 1896-1900.

1888-1894.

JONAS ORAMEL PECK, D.D., 1888. Hon., 1.88-1896. WILLIAM T. SMITH, D.D., 1896-1900



taries, the recording secretary, and treasurer—meets annually, in the month of November, at such place in the United States as the committee from year to year may determine. This committee determines all matters relating to the location and support of missions. "The support of missions is committed to the churches, congregations, and societies as such." These



ADNA B. LEONARD, D.D.

Corresponding secretary of the Missionary
Society, 1888-.

HENRY K. CARROLL, LL.D. First assistant corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society, 1900-.

words of the Discipline, originally written by Durbin, tell the story of the generous support of the mission work by the Church. The pastors take the collections and the people give, and the society, for the Church, expends the money in carrying forward the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, which is the duty of the Church. The growth of interest in behalf of the work of the Missionary Society has been evidenced by the constant increase of contributions to the cause. The demands on the treasury have grown even more rapidly

than the contributions of the Church. When Dr. McCabe started the song, "A Million for Missions," there were many who refused to join in the strain, believing the effort a visionary undertaking. The million line has long since been

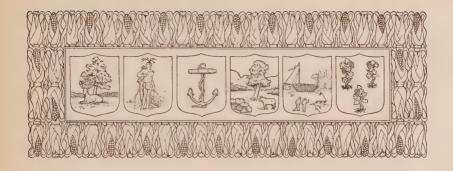


PHOTOGRAPH BY LANGILL, N. Y.

THE BOARD ROOM OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In the Book Concern and Mission Building, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York. The boards of managers of the Missionary Society, Sunday School Union, and Tract Societies hold their regular meetings in this "chapel." The portraits of the bishops and deceased secretaries are hung on the walls.

passed. The highest amount received from all sources for the Missionary Society (not including the receipts from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and the Woman's Home Missionary Society) was in 1900, when it rose to \$1,332,829.10.



CHAPTER LXX

Growth in New England

TRANSITION OF NEW ENGLAND TO UNITARIANISM.—METHODISM GAINS BY THE DISINTEGRATION.—METHODIST LEADERS NOW, AND MORE IN TRAINING.—KIBBY.—JESSE LEE IN HIS LATER YEARS.—WILBUR FISK AND THE NEW ERA OF EDUCATION.

HE problems confronting Methodism in New England were quite different from those which were found in the West. There it was the conquest of physical difficulties and the creation of commonwealths. Everything was new, and Methodism was untrammeled by any prior religious organization. There the Methodists were pioneers. But in New England they were regarded as intruders upon a long-established order. That heritage of the Puritan age, the "standing order," was established by law. When Jesse Lee, in 1789, preached his first sermon at Norwalk, Conn., he found a State Church confronting him. Unlike the Anglican Church in Virginia, which had been in sympathy with the crown, the Congregationalists of New England had been in rebellion against the king, and were therefore in high favor when Methodism appeared upon the scene.

Under the circumstances it was natural that Virginia should grant religious liberty in its fullest sense. This

was done in 1785. Federalism favored Congregationalism in New England, but in 1811 the combined liberal sentiment was able to relieve the taxpayer from the heavy burden of supporting the "standing order" provided he could produce a certificate of membership in another Church. The administration of the law was at first far from impartial. Connecticut granted the same option in 1816, but the complete overthrow of Congregationalism as a State Church was not accomplished until 1833—President Dwight lamenting it until his dying day.

A more subtle danger to orthodoxy was the leaven of Unitarianism which permeated New England in the first decade of the century. There was but one Congregational church—the Old South—in Boston which remained true to evangelical tradition, and even it rendered but a trembling support. As Lyman Beecher said, "A large part of the members of that church, the Old South, were shivering in the breeze." When the Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin began his Park Street Lectures, in 1812, few persons dared to enter an evangelical house of worship. "The finger of scorn was pointed at him, and he had to breast a tide of misrepresentation and calumny, of opposition and hatred, which would have overwhelmed one who had not the spirituality of an apostle and the strength of a giant." The loss of Harvard College by the orthodox Congregationalists, and the founding of Andover in 1808, and of Amherst in 1821, show both the extent of the lapse and the intensity of the struggle.

The time of Channing, of Emerson, and of Theodore Parker was at hand, and through them, and others of like mind, the rationalism of Strauss, DeWette, Herder, and Lessing permeated the public thought. The transcendental philosophy and the theology of Restorationism, under the Ballous and others, added their part to the atmosphere in which evangelical doctrine pined away.

New England began to feel the new literary spirit which in the decade 1830–1840 first assumed a distinct American type. Such names as Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Hawthorne, Emerson, Bancroft, and Prescott succeeded those of Bryant, Dana, Halleck, Irving, and Cooper. Boston was the chief center of this American Renaissance, whose influence, on the whole, made the progress of Methodism more difficult.

New England received but a small portion of the moving population of the time. In 1800 there were in New England 1,214,653 whites and 19,000 blacks, which in 1820 had become 1,638,415 whites and 29,160 blacks—an increase in the period of one third, while the whole country had advanced eighty per cent. By 1840 the general population was 17,069,453, or a growth of forty-four per cent, while in the Eastern States there were 2,234,811 persons, or an increase of but thirty-four per cent—being ten per cent behind the general advance. The gain of Methodism, however, was not inconsiderable. In 1808, for example, the New England Conference numbered 8,761 white and 64 colored members, it being the smallest Conference of the connection. By 1818 it had grown to 14,035 white and 154 colored members. In 1844-45 there were in New England the Providence, New Hampshire, New England, and Maine Conferences, and a part of the Troy Conference. The statistics were:

Conferences.	Members,	Traveling Preachers.	Supernu- meraries.	Locals.
Providence	13,832	95	II	85
New Hampshire	21,977	161	22	116
New England	16,031	113	12	69
Maine	25,843	160	21	160
Total	77,683	529	66	430

This does not include that portion of the Troy Conference which lies within the borders of New England. The Troy Conference had 29,822 members in 1844–45. It thus appears that Methodism had increased quite tenfold in the period from 1808 to 1844, while the population of these Eastern



A SESSION OF THE OLD NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE.

Interior of old Bromfield Street Church, Boston. Timothy Merritt is in the pulpit with Mr. Pickering.

Wilbur Fisk speaks from the steps. Bishop Hedding presides, with Daniel Fillmore at the secretary's table.

States had not even doubled in the first forty years of the century. Methodism here displayed the same determination to remain which had elsewhere characterized the denomination.

Great men were rising up whose labors should bring honor to themselves and the Church. George Pickering, Joshua Soule, John Brodhead, Martin Ruter, Oliver Beale, Daniel Ostrander, Elijah R. Sabin, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Crowell, Epaphras Kibby, Joseph Crawford, Joshua Taylor, Edward T. Taylor, Daniel Dorchester, Elijah Hedding, are names

that will not die in the annals of New England Methodism. Some of them reached more than local fame and two of them became bishops. Epaphras Kibby was a mighty man of God who enlarged the borders of Methodism during a long life. Strange things befell him. At Monmouth, Me., he preached in the Congregational church. While sitting in the desk, before the sermon, a remarkable spiritual power descended upon the people and overwhelmed the assembly. The revival spread throughout the circuit, and was the germ of Methodism in Bath. Kibby was invited from Monmouth to Hallowell, but not being hospitably entertained after the service, he rode on to Augusta. There he was asked to preach in a hall. A prominent man threw a silver dollar on the table, saying, "I approve these doctrines and esteem this man." Others gave, and compelled the reluctant preacher to receive their bounty. A man from Hallowell asked him, "When are you going to preach again in Hallowell?" "Never, sir," replied Kibby. Trembling, and deeply concerned, the man implored him to come once more. He went, found a crowded house, and formed a society there. The first children baptized there were twins, one of whom, Melville B. Cox, became the first foreign missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and sleeps in his grave in Africa; the other became a preacher in New England.

Asbury repeatedly passed through New England. After a tour of five thousand miles through the South he reached New England in April, 1808, and in May of the following year his itinerary brings him there. He crossed to Newport, and says: "Grand house—steeple: pews—by lottery! The end is to justify the means. Ah, what pliability to evil!" His fears were to be realized, for the pewed system was, in 1816, established in Boston. In June, 1809, at Monmouth,

McKendree makes his first episcopal visit to the region, and in 1816, at Pittsfield, he appears again in company with Asbury, now old and worn.

Jesse Lee, after an absence of eight years in the South, passes over the battlefields of former days. In June, 1808, he is again at Norwalk, Conn., where years before he had preached the first Methodist sermon in all New England. Through Providence and on to Maine he passes in triumphal marches, everywhere greeted by weeping assemblies, and everywhere astonished at the progress of the work. Soule, Merwin, Fogg, and other leaders greet him on his route. At Lynn he takes a sorrowful farewell of his old friends, and by way of the interior arrives at Rhinebeck, where Garrettson's Traveler's Rest gives him shelter. His eight remaining years were spent in the Middle and Southern States.

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century Methodism was established in every New England State. Upon its entrance, in 1789, there were 1,133 churches, and 96,074 members in all the churches, but chiefly Congregationalists and Baptists. In 1840 there were 155,702 Congregationalists, 80,895 Methodists, and 71,051 Baptists. In 1850 these had become: Congregationalists, 156,118; Methodists, 84,097; and Baptists, 90,911. In 1900 the Methodists had passed the Baptists, numbering 151,158 to their 147,185, though still behind the Congregationalists, who numbered 248,095.

In 1840 Methodism stood second in Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and third in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. In 1900 it had gone ahead and become foremost in Maine, retaining its former position in the other New England States.

It was a period of advancement. Church building and

great revivals were accompanied by sharp controversies and even persecutions. The heroic era had not yet vanished. The itinerant endured hardships in the sparsely settled



AFTER THE ENGRAVING BY MACKENZIE.

OLIVER BEALE.

Born 1777; died 1836. One of the fathers of the Maine Conference.

Seventeen years presiding elder.

regions, where the log cabin was found just as in the West. It was a personal encounter. The preacher, passing from house to house, sought the people. Ebenezer Newhall in a

tour on foot through Vermont illustrates the invincible spirit of Methodism. He was stirred by the spiritual destitution of the people. We will let him tell his own story:

- "Often I rested my weary limbs by sitting down and reading my Bible and praying. Soon I came to a small opening, found a log cabin, stopped, read, sung, and prayed with them. Then on again I went. I found a very poor woman in a log hut. I invited her to go to the meeting.
 - "She said, 'I have no clothes."
- "I said, 'Don't stop for that; just wash you clean and go. God may meet you there, and wash away all your sins, and clothe you with salvation."
 - " 'But I have no shoes.'
 - "'No matter. God may put on your feet the Gospel shoes."
 - "' Then I have no bonnet."
 - "'Well, God can put on your head a crown of life."
 - "' Neither have I any cloak."
- "'Dear woman,' said I, 'make no more excuses; throw a sheet over your shoulders, and if you find Jesus, as you may, you will not be sorry.'"

Then on he went, and finally came to the meeting he had appointed.

"There, sure enough, was the poor woman, with rags sewed on her feet, a sheet over her head, and her children by her side."

By such persistence did the fathers conquer. It was a hard field, and only by heroic self-sacrifice was the Church established. Elijah Hedding received for his first year as presiding elder, besides his simple traveling expenses, the munificent sum of \$4.25. The preachers were often ill-treated, the parish pulpits were closed against them, and in their own assemblies the preachers were denounced as-

"wolves in sheep's clothing." The members gathered in courthouses, dancing halls, barns, schoolhouses, the preachers making the fires and ringing the bells.

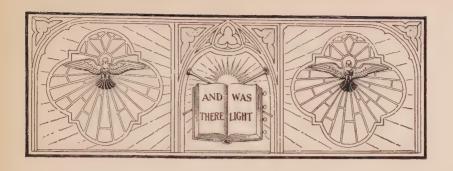
Sometimes, after the sermon, the settled minister would arise and assail the Methodist itinerant; often, however, to his own discomfiture, for conflict had sharpened the edge of the logical faculty of the circuit rider.

Sometimes their persecutions were severe. Elijah Sabin had been mobbed on Needham Circuit. The Boston Methodists, in their humble temple on Methodist Alley, had been sorely tried. Hibbard went through almost intolerable trials. At Lancaster, Vt., Langdon, Crawford, and Clark were attacked by a mob, and Crawford was ducked in a pond. Washburne was saluted with stones, snowballs, and cries of "Glory! Amen! Hallelujah!" Even in Middletown, where now the Wesleyan University stands, persecution was rife. Hedding was cursed on the highway. Some one publicly wrung Dow's nose. Sabin was knocked down with a gun, another was horsewhipped, another drummed out of town, another blinded in an eye, and others denied the protection of the law. Yet the preachers came forth more than conquerors.

The mission of Methodism in New England was not merely the creation of an ecclesiastical system of its own, but the transformation of the ecclesiastical organizations already existing there. Here, as elsewhere, a prime service to the common cause of Christianity was the overflow of the Methodist evangelistic spirit and its gifts of men to pulpits other than its own.

That the soil of New England was not unresponsive to the sowing of Methodism is shown in the fact that during the period under consideration quite half a score of the bishops of the Church were in training there. We have mentioned Joshua Soule and Elijah Hedding. L. L. Hamline was born in Burlington, Vt., May 10, 1797; E. S. Janes at Sheffield, Mass., April 27, 1807; O. C. Baker, at Marlow, N. H., July 30, 1812; D. W. Clark at Mount Desert, Me., February 25, 1812; E. O. Haven at Boston, November 1, 1820; Gilbert Haven at Malden, Mass., September 19, 1821; W. F. Mallalieu at Sutton, Mass., December 11, 1828. Bishop Henry W. Warren was born at Williamsburg, Mass., January 4, 1831. A truly remarkable record!

New England Methodism may be said to have begun a new epoch when Wilbur Fisk appeared. He was a new type of the Methodist preacher. Intrinsically great, an eloquent speaker, he became the apostle of education in his denomination. Himself a college alumnus, a graduate of Brown University, he did more than anyone else to remove the reproach of ignorance from his Church. New England has ever been wont to discredit a ministry whose learning is not certified to by academic diplomas. Joshua Soule and Elijah Hedding, possessing statesmanship of almost Jeffersonian quality, and Timothy Merritt and Martin Ruter, both men of fine scholarship, were all alike discredited because they were not graduates of any college save that great college of the itinerancy, whose standing unfortunately the world has been slow to acknowledge.



CHAPTER LXXI

The Last Days of Asbury

UNCEASING LABORS OF ASBURY.—WIDE TRAVELS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.—A GREAT LEADER.—BELIEF IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.—DEATH IN RICHMOND.—BURIAL IN BALTIMORE.—JESSE LEE JOINS ASBURY.

SBURY was growing old. The first delegated General Conference was his last. By a good providence he had been permitted to see the thorough establishment of the Church. Like Washington, who after the Revolution was more than ever concerned over the uncertainty of the outlook under the Articles of Confederation, and was only assured of national perpetuity upon the adoption of the Constitution, Francis Asbury could set forth from the General Conference of 1808 with the assurance that the Church would remain after he was gone. He had attended almost every Conference since 1773, and had annually visited them from Maine to Florida, and westward to the extreme limits of civilization. Most of the time he traveled on horseback. His heart bled for the poor beasts that broke down under him in his swift movements. Later he traveled in a sulky, and in a light four-wheeled carriage, presented to him by the Philadelphia Conference.

His Journal records: "We [McKendree and himself] are

riding in a poor \$30 chaise, in partnership; two bishops of us; but it must be confessed it tallies well with our purses. What bishops! But we have a thousand souls converted."

His age-worn figure was known throughout the land. He averaged about six thousand miles a year, which, considering the terrible roads of the wilderness, exceeds the marvelous movements of Wesley. During his American ministry of over forty-five years it is estimated he traveled over two hundred and seventy thousand miles. He preached at least once daily, or about seventeen thousand sermons, presided at two hundred and twenty-four Conferences, and ordained perhaps four thousand preachers. What a bishop indeed! He was a master in the knowledge of men, and no mean student of hooks. His Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament were his constant companions. Every stop, enforced by sickness or otherwise, was employed in study. The list of his reading would make richer a library. How he could read so much, hampered as he was by the crowded and uncomfortable cabins of the wilderness, it is impossible to conjecture.

Often he was on the point of breaking down, but nerving his frail body, poisoned with medicines, he would push forward again, now with Lee, or Smith, or McKendree, or Boehm, or Bond. His active soul could not be confined in the cities. He loved the woods. "How sweet to me," he writes, "are all the calm scenes of life that now surround me on every side! The quiet country houses, the fields and orchards bearing the promise of a fruitful year; the flocks and herds, the hills and vales and dewy meads, the gliding streams and murmuring brooks; and thou, too, O Solitude, with thy attendants, Silence and Meditation, how dost thou solace my pensive mind after the tempest of fear, the care and tumult and talk of the noisy, bustling city!" The sea

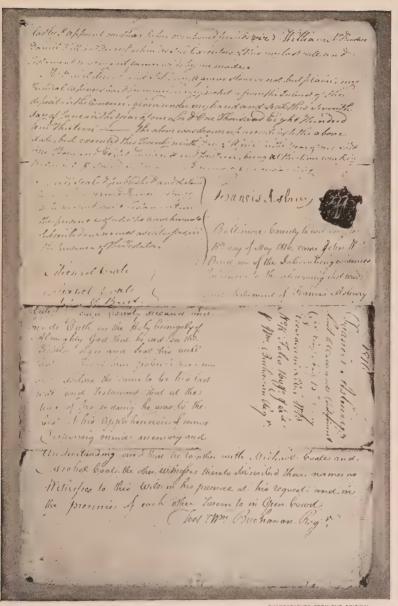
reminded him of "its great Maker. The sea gull and the eagle with hovering wing watching for its prey, and the white sail of the solitary vessel tossed upon the distant wave," filled him with their beauty. Surely there was poetic feeling here. Yet, as he said, he was pensive and even morbid. His gaze was fixed within himself too much.

Asbury was a literalist in following the scriptural command, "Be instant in prayer." He usually prayed with families at the close of each meal, at taverns or elsewhere. In every pastoral visit he offered prayer. For years his custom was to pray for each preacher by name daily. On his rides he prayed ten minutes of every hour. Besides he fasted every Friday and at other times as well. He knew nothing of home life. He felt too deeply the needs and poverty of his lot to clog his movements with a family. He was a celibate more by necessity, perhaps, than by choice. He felt unwilling to marry, as he says, because he must care for his mother. "For these reasons I hope God and the sex will forgive me."

A feeling of sadness falls upon him as his life nears the close. "My old Virginia friends have disappeared from the earth," he writes in 1805. On baptizing a child in Kentucky he exclaimed, "In this family I have served four generations." On preaching in a log cabin in the mountains he remarks, "I preached in his grandfather's house in Maryland in 1774." Perry Hall became "a house of mourning." In 1813 he cries, "Alas, how solitary!" When Whatcoat died he was much affected, and rejoiced when his beloved McKendree was elected as his colleague.

In 1813 he made his will. "I have made my will, appointing Bishop McKendree, Daniel Hitt, and Henry Boehm my executors. If I do not in the meantime spend it, I shall

In the nume of Almighty God In one it Francis Ashing Maline of great Bretring bornatiqual Barr Handsworth franish the foodshire bounter Superintendant and Bishop of the Methodist Chiscopal Church intermine in common health of body and firm exercise a mind have deliberated whom the Shortness of human defeand the colount of make me las will and S. Starber Brothing all others Mem Syrving Bo withink for whence it Commiles wellaken in hopes of a Glorious Redurrection to Everlate defen Teommitmer freet to the Fother of all Speciels, in the bedry is Smelling fredering and Morelying grave of the Sing Vid and in his harion of the wood dot - Stem Town and beginsath, ast mettocaring Upparelle the Traveling and is not preachers of the Hethodist & Chuich Shall that be present at mer death. Hem I give and begierath me Hordes, or Horder, and Carringer logither with allmy Books, and manustripts to William M'Hentre first Umerican Bishop of the Mithodist & Chicoh . Hem I give and bequeath in especial head and confedence to Williams Whendre Fand Hill's Henry Broken the dums " Tion Housand Dollard now defailed inthe Book convin betheram more or life to be applied infriending Bibles and Jedamente, in the the spiand Books and Tracks, and phampfills when texperimental and involved Goothings and when the decease of Said Trustees; then and in that ease, I deves the Tust is nderified -Shall be founded when the Bishow be cled by the general bon proces in here for on the original the Bullemore standalle a bune on the ther just that blick Town Elders of their Bride; in frist Trust and Especial confedence to insure the deposit in the Book concorns as long as the Speneral union, of order a Inhink Shall hemaintained, and an equal dividend is made, to a lither Conferenced in union , within the United attaled " Thould they resent inday of things buchanged the and that cased with the Monestone funded and the Interest, by the special Trust and Confedence to be equaller and In ually divided among the tention freners as now appointed by order of the General Conference , or if the number shall hereafter be increased their shall bearingeal devidend to the whole members to it known that I have or whiteasure when carta, more than the dum i howelequeather, in the and Interest, has been lift to me invior ga cias by persons that did Childles, Non thinking possibles I might live to advanced Uge and to median independent Support. Thesi degacies woulds micheifly by parsons of the first De nero Mithed its. I have she preprieted the Indiest and June of the principal in a safethfull stewards due to the Churcher & hours to ligabeth Dicking survey me and could be paid survey all the thirthe haid during her natural life bighter the threstenmenter, Usto all my no behildren Maliand Firmin Twhose porents, Lave Thought proper to ful an of part of my name when their of saith the Book Contains to give these touch a Rible as me of new remina & Children .



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM THE ORIGINAL

leave when I die an estate of \$2,000, I believe. I give it all to the Book Concern." In 1815 we find him in the West. He had made four rounds through New England, the West, and the South since the close of the General Conference of 1812. He rejoices in having John Wesley Bond as his traveling companion. "Has he his equal on earth for excellences of every kind as an aid?" he asks. On the road from the Ohio Conference he becomes prophetic, and declares "the Western part of the empire will be the glory of America and ought to be marked out by five Conferences." Thomas Jefferson had visions of great States to be formed of the Northwest Territory. Both dreams have been more than realized. Many times five Conferences are now thriving in this seat of empire. He enters in his Journal while at the Tennessee Conference: "My eyes fail; I will resign the stations to Bishop McKendree; I will take away my feet. It is the fiftieth year of my ministry and forty-fifth year of labor in America. My mind enjoys great peace and divine consolation. 'I will trust him; yea, I will praise him; he is the strength of my heart and my portion forever.' Glory! glory! glory!"

At Bethlehem, Tenn., he held his last Conference, in October, 1815. In thirty-one years he had visited the South thirty times. He longed to go to Mississippi, "but felt resigned." Unable to keep up with the Conferences, he turned toward Baltimore, hoping to attend the General Conference which should convene there in May, 1816. For the last time he climbed the summits of the Alleghanies and gazed westward over that valley where Methodism was to see its greatest triumphs. Twenty-seven years before he had crossed the mountains. Then there were few Methodists in all the wilderness. Now there was a membership of forty-

six thousand five hundred reaching from the Lakes to the Gulf. The spirit of Asbury still climbs the mountains and traverses the valleys of the great West.

Accompanied by the faithful Bond, at last he reaches Richmond, Va., where, on March 24, 1816, in the old Methodist church he preached his last sermon. "I must once more deliver my public testimony in this place," he said. He was borne to the pulpit and seated on a table. His text was Romans ix, 28, "For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth." This was his last public service. He reached the house of George Arnold at Spottsylvania. He felt his end near. On Sunday at eleven o'clock the family gathered about his bed. He requested Bond to expound Revelation xxi. Seeing his companion's distress, he smiled with joy upon him. Bond asked him if he found Christ to be precious. Exerting all his strength, he raised both his hands in token of victory. A few minutes later, without a struggle, he passed away, on March 31, 1816.

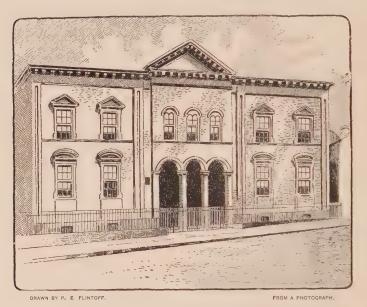
> Like some broad river widening toward the sea, Calmly and grandly life joined eternity.

Asbury's remains were interred in the Arnold family burying ground, but a month later they were taken to Baltimore, where the General Conference was in session, and a vast concourse followed the sacred dust to the Eutaw Street Church, under the pulpit of which the body was placed. McKendree preached the sermon. After forty years his ashes were removed once more, to the Mount Olivet Cemetery, where in company with other great dead he sleeps in Jesus.

No such calamity had ever before befallen the Church.

Asbury is dead! Asbury is dead! was carried by the swift-flying itinerants to the North and South, to the East and West. Innumerable funeral sermons were preached. That by Ezekiel Cooper at St. George's, Philadelphia, sounds like a wail of sorrow, and expressed the universal grief.

Thus in his seventy-first year ended the life of Francis



EUTAW STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BALTIMORE.

The remains of Bishop Asbury were buried under the pulpit of this church, 1816.

Asbury. He began his ministry in England at seventeen, came to this country in his twenty-sixth year, was ordained superintendent when he was thirty-nine, and was bishop about thirty-one years. He saw Methodism increase from fifteen thousand at his ordination to two hundred and fifteen thousand members at his death, and the preachers from eighty to seven hundred. He was the last of that quaternion of Methodists who stand foremost in its annals—Wesley,

Whitefield, Coke, and Asbury—and no man has done more for Christianity in America than this heroic soul.

In the train of mourners at Asbury's funeral was a finelooking, stalwart man of about sixty years of age in whose

grief one could see the sorrow of a veteran comrade in arms. It was Jesse Lee, next to Asbury the most heroic figure of early American Methodism, and next to Asbury the most extensive traveler of all the earlier itinerants. He was the first Methodist chaplain to Congress and the first historian of his Church. An eloquent preacher, a great wit, a chief counselor of the Church, he will never be forgotten. About the middle of August he was seized with fever while



GRAVE OF ASBURY.

Mount Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

attending a camp meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. All helps failed. Though depressed for a while, toward the end he shouted with joy—"Glory! glory! Jesus reigns! Give my love to Bishop McKendree, and tell him I die in love with all the preachers." On September 12, 1816, he was called to follow his ascended leader.



CHAPTER LXXII

Great Progress in the South

MATERIAL EXPANSION.—RELUCTANT CONSERVATIVES ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WESLEYS.—SUCCESS OF LOCAL PREACHERS.—EARLY, CAPERS, AND OTHER LEADERS.—REMARKABLE COLORED PREACHERS.—SIXFOLD INCREASE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1808.

HE South shared in the progress of the Union. When Thomas Jefferson entered upon his first administration, in 1801, more than half the population was located in the South, but by 1820 the North and West exceeded the South by more than 700,000 souls. Nevertheless the region south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi had greatly prospered. The accessions were magnificent. Mississippi was admitted into the Union in 1817, Alabama in 1819, and Florida in 1845. By 1840 the population south of Mason and Dixon's Line had reached 4,632,530 whites, 215,575 free blacks, and 2,486,326 slaves. The greater increase of the West had been caused by foreign immigration. Meanwhile Methodism was to prosper in the South more than anywhere else, and there the Church should win some of her noblest victories. More than half its membership was there when this period opened. Great Conferences had already grown up in Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Tennessee.

Yet here and there some city long withstood the Methodist siege. Strange as it may seem, Savannah, with its memories of the Wesleys, was slow to accept the teaching of the disciples of John Wesley. Hope Hull had been driven out in 1790, and a like fate befell Jonathan Jackson, Josiah Randle, and John Garvin. In 1806 Asbury called for volunteers, and Samuel Dunwody attempted the task. Jesse Lee finally



THE OLD LUCAS HOUSE, NEAR SPARTA, GA.

The Conference session was held here in 1806.

formed a class of ten members. In 1812, seventy-five years after Wesley's persecutions there, Asbury dedicated the Wesley Chapel. Richmond, Va., was another city which offered persistent opposition, but in time became a Methodist stronghold. Long before this, however, the itinerants had turned southwestward, and had already established outposts in the wilderness. Early in the present century Lorenzo Dow had preached the first Protestant sermon in Alabama. At the South Carolina Conference which met in Charleston in 1807 Asbury had asked for volunteers for the great Oconee District. The next year all Alabama Methodism numbered

but eighty-six members. Meanwhile the itinerants from Tennessee, on the north, descended into the country, so that by 1811 there were reported four hundred communicants.

In the closing year of the last century Tobias Gibson set out from the Pedee and pierced the wilderness to Natchez, where he established a church, and in the Minutes of 1800 he reported sixty members. Immigration strengthened the growing membership. The Owens family, the five Baldridge brothers, the Forman and Robertson families, came in. Prayer meetings and class meetings prepared the way for the building of churches. On a set day all who would help build gathered together. As one was about to fell a tree, for the first log, Thomas Owens cried, "Stop! let us begin with prayer." It was a prophecy of the glory of the Spring Hill Church. The sons of Robertson and Owens were among the first preachers raised up in the territory. Hopewell and Bethel arose in like manner, and became sacred places, by their historic influence, throughout the South.

The local preacher was abroad in the land. Newet Vick, from Virginia, helped build the church at Natchez. He laid out Vicksburg. It was at his house the preachers of the Tennessee Conference, who were beyond the Indian country, met during the war with England. Other honored names are Matthew Bowman, Henry Tooley, and John Ford—this last a preacher who brought a colony with him and gave four sons to the ministry. At his home at Pearl River the second session of the Mississippi Conference met. John French, Judge Warner, on the Bogue Chitto, who gave four sons to the Church, cannot be omitted from the Obed-edoms at whose homes God was honored.

The South gave its full share of great men toward the triumphant march of Methodism. Daniel Asbury, Lewis

Myers, William Kennedy, Lovick and Reddick Pierce, William Capers, John Early, T. L. Douglass, James O. Andrew, and Robert Paine are but a few of the leaders who led the Methodism of the South to victory.

Lewis Myers was a man of heroic mold, capable alike of enduring the severest hardships and giving wise counsel in the cabinet. For a quarter of a century he performed heroic service in Georgia and South Carolina. William Kennedy, another of the same type, the "sweet singer of the South Carolina Conference," was mighty at camp meetings, and especially effective in prayer. James Russell, though unlettered, was capable of the highest natural oratory. He was one of the fathers of the Southern Methodist Church, and famous throughout three States. Stephen Olin had the highest admiration for "his original genius and his irresistibly powerful preaching."

John Early was one of the noblest men in the annals of Southern Methodism. He was of an influential Virginia family, and began his ministry in 1806 by preaching to the slaves of Thomas Jefferson. Possessed of a strong physique, an indomitable will, and withal systematic and full of energy, his success was inevitable. In one year he received five hundred probationers into the Church. Against his will he was appointed presiding elder, and memorable results attended his efforts. Eight hundred souls were converted in a single week at one of his many camp meetings. He became the chief founder of Randolph-Macon College. Perhaps no Methodist of his day refused so many offices as he. He declined nominations both as book agent and as congressman. It was his habit to refuse anything that would interrupt his preaching. He was offered, but declined, the governorship of Illinois and of Arkansas. He even refused the high office

of comptrollership of the Treasury of the United States. He afterward became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It is his best eulogy "that he probably received more souls into the Methodist Church than any man in it."

Like Early in some respects was William Capers, who also became a bishop in the Southern branch of Methodism. was a son of that Major Capers who at Moultrie, Eutaw, and Charleston had won fame in the Revolution. He was one of Marion's men, a patriot who had served his country well. Under the ministry of the sainted Willis he had become a Methodist. Young William, a rising barrister, attended camp meeting in 1806, and was awakened. But it was not until 1808 that his sister's conversion aroused both father and son from a state of spiritual decline. It was then he felt his call to preach, and was licensed at Rembert's camp meeting. Asbury, recalling his own acquaintance in the Capers household, embraced him, saying, "Ah! this is the baby; come, and let me hug you." This brought about a reconciliation with the father, after seventeen years' estrangement growing out of the differences between Hammett and Asbury.

William traveled the Wateree Circuit that year. In 1809, while in the South, Asbury wrote in his Journal: "We are defrauded of great numbers by the pains that are taken to keep the blacks from us. Their masters are afraid of the influence of our principles. Would not an amelioration in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans than any attempt at their emancipation? What is the personal liberty of the African, which he may abuse, to the salvation of his soul?" The social rank and culture of Capers gave influence to his ministry and made him a commanding figure throughout the South. He received almost all the offices of honor in the

gift of the Church. He became a missionary to the Creek Indians, the first fraternal delegate from America to the English Conference, a missionary secretary, a noted educator, and a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Some of the miracles of grace with which the story of Methodism is replete occurred among the negroes. Many an unlettered prophet arose whose power for righteousness held



THE OLD WESLEY CHAPEL, SAVANNAH, GA.

Dedicated by Bishop Asbury, 1813.

the slaves firmly to the standards of faith. Among such were Castile Selby and Harry Myrick, of Wilmington, and York Cohen, of Savannah. Henry Evans was the founder of Methodism in Fayetteville, S. C., and the best preacher in the whole neighborhood. A free black, born in Virginia, and a shoemaker by trade, he had early become a Methodist, and had been licensed to preach. Forbidden by the town council to preach to his people, he retired to the sand hills outside the town. His ministry so transformed their morals, especially in Sabbath breaking and drunkenness, that he was allowed at last to preach in town. A church was built for him, and there for years he declared the truth with remark-

able power. The most cultivated people of the community delighted to hear him. On the last Sunday before his death he took farewell of the congregation: "I come to say my last word to you; it is this: None but Christ. Three times have I had my life in jeopardy for preaching the Gospel to you. Three times I have broken the ice on the edge of the water and swum across the Cape Fear to preach the Gospel to you. And now if in my last hour I could trust to that, or to anything else but Christ crucified, for my salvation, all should be lost and my soul perish forever." A truly noble sentiment!

In 1845 Methodism had gathered into the Church 124,000 of the slave population, and by 1860 there were 207,000, besides probationers.

The growth of Methodism in the South in the interval between the establishment of representative government and the separation in 1844 had been phenomenal. The increase was more than sixfold. In 1808 there were only two exclusively Southern Conferences, those in Virginia and South Carolina, to which must be added the Western Conference, which, with the exception of the Ohio District, lay in Southern territory. The total membership then was 55,533. In 1844 there were south of the Potomac and Ohio, and east of the Mississippi River, ten Conferences, with a total membership of 363,318, besides 957 traveling preachers and 2,744 local preachers, in a total membership of 1,056,912, 3,983 traveling preachers and 7,654 local preachers. To the original Conferences there had been added the Kentucky, Holston, Tennessee, North Carolina, Memphis, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia Conferences.



CHAPTER LXXIII

The Training of the Preacher

THE DIVINE CALL.—GIFTS AND GRACES.—THE PIONEER IN HASTE.—
DEMAND FOR THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.—CONVENTION IN BOSTON.—
FIRST SCHOOL OPENED.—BOSTON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—DEMPSTER AND HIS CAREER.—MRS. ELIZA GARRETT.—GARRETT BIBLICAL
INSTITUTE.—DANIEL DREW AND DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—
CONFERENCE COURSE OF STUDY AND BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

ESLEY early recognized the need for a school for the education and training of preachers. He was intensely in earnest in adopting the best educational plans. His environment at home and his long residence at Oxford led him to see the advantages of the highest culture. American Methodism took its inspiration from the British type. Not a small proportion of the ministers were educated men, but books were scarce, schools were few, and pioneering afforded little opportunity for study.

With the growth of population came the building of cities, the extension of general education among the people, and hence a demand and opportunity for higher education among the Methodists, and for a more fully equipped ministry.

The New England Methodists took the initiative in the movement for theological schools. The subject was thoroughly discussed in the Zion's Herald, and in 1839 a convention was called to meet in Boston to provide for a biblical institute. Some desired the ambitious "Theological Seminary," but the modest term "Methodist General



BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

Biblical Institute" was adopted. It was at first connected with the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., as a

department of the general work of that institution. It was soon removed to Newbury, Vt., and in 1847 to Concord, N. H., where it became more firmly established as a theological seminary and became known as the "Methodist General Biblical Institute." Its influence over the ministry of the New England States was considerable, yet for many



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY STEBBINS.

LIBRARY OF THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY, BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

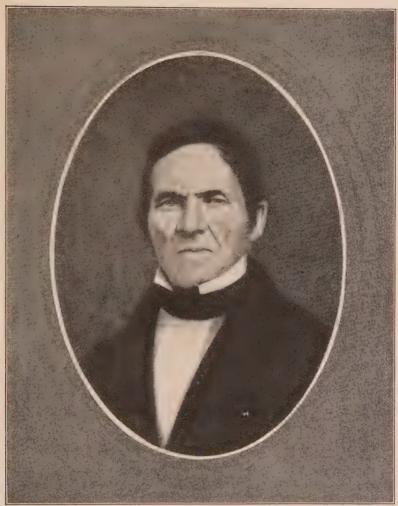
years it struggled against the severe criticisms of those who were not prepossessed in favor of a thorough theological and pastoral training for the Methodist ministry.

In 1867 the institution was again removed, this time to Boston. There it found a permanent home and was reorganized as "The Boston Theological Seminary." In 1869 Boston University was incorporated by its founders, Isaac Rich, Lee Claffin, and Jacob Sleeper; three devoted men who set

apart a considerable portion of their wealth to the establishment of a Methodist University, which has grown to be one of the most efficient educational forces in the United States, and does honor to the wisdom and liberality of its founders.

In 1871 "The Boston Theological Seminary" was incorporated in the Boston University, being made its theological department, since which time it has had an honorable and successful career. The theological department is in no degree behind the other strong departments of the university in progressive methods and highest culture.

To John Dempster more than to any other man American Methodism is indebted for the institution of the theological school. It was he who by voice and pen stirred the Church to recognize the importance of a thoroughly educated ministry. In 1847 he opened the biblical institute at Concord, and for seven years traveled throughout the connection collecting funds for its sustenance, meanwhile filling with distinction the chair of instructor. He was fifty-three years old when he took charge of the school, having been born in Florida, N. Y., on January 2, 1794. His father, a Scotchman, educated at the University of Edinburgh, was sent as a missionary to America by Wesley. When eighteen years old young Dempster became a Christian, and gave himself up to a life of diligent study and labor. From the beginning of his public career he was a strong speaker, an acute thinker, and a sound logician. He was admitted as a probationer in the Genesee Conference in 1816, his first circuit being in Lower Canada. Here, notwithstanding his doubtful health, which for four years kept him in the probationary ranks of the Conference, he suffered hardships "too terrible for humanity to endure." From 1818 to 1835 he filled important appointments, including the presiding eldership. He



FROM A PAINTING IN THE LIBRARY OF GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

JOHN DEMPSTER, D.D.

The father of theological education in American Methodism.



anxiously and enthusiastically entered new fields, determined to enlarge the borders of the Church. In 1836 he went as a missionary to South America, where he remained six years. Returning in 1842, he at once reentered the pastorate, holding leading appointments in New York city, from which in 1845 he went to take charge of the biblical institute at Concord, N. H.

Having established the theological institute on a strong foundation, he resigned his position and started West, to be a pioneer in that new country. It was thus he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Eliza Garrett, of Chicago, Ill., and was enabled to establish the second Methodist theological institute in America.

Mrs. Garrett (born Clark), the founder of the Garrett Biblical Institute, was born near Newburgh, N. Y., on March 5. 1805. Several years after her marriage to Mr. Augustus Garrett she removed with him to the Mississippi valley, and in 1834 to Chicago. Five years afterward they united with the Methodist Episcopal Church and thereafter poured out their warmest affection and generosity on the Church of their choice. Mr. Garrett rose to considerable distinction in public affairs, and was at one time mayor of the city of Chicago. He died in 1848, whereupon Mrs. Garrett determined to consecrate a large part of her wealth to the cause of ministerial education. It was about this time that Dr. Dempster came West. In him Mrs. Garrett found an enthusiastic sympathizer. In accordance with her plans he opened a preliminary school at Evanston, Ill., out of which grew what is now known as the Garrett Biblical Institute. Mrs. Garrett lived to see the site selected and the seminary commenced under Dr. Dempster's wise direction. She died on November 23, 1855. By her will provision was made for

the permanent establishment of the institute. Her gifts to the enterprise amounted to \$300,000.

The Garrett Biblical Institute was incorporated in 1855



MRS, ELIZA CLARK GARRETT.

The founder of the Garrett Biblical Institute of the Northwestern University, Evanstown, III.

and was located at Evanston, where the Northwestern University had been established. Professors were elected in 1856,

and the school was opened as a corporate organization the following September.

The Church was fast learning to appreciate the importance of these theological institutes, and the General Conference finally adopted the Garrett Biblical Institute as a part of its educational system.

Dempster yearned for further conquests. His prophetic vision saw the day when the Pacific coast would be alive with industry and the whole Western territory thickly populated; when that field would also need an army of trained workers to cultivate it for Christ. He started for the far West, hoping to be able to found a school for ministerial training on the Pacific coast; but his health failed, and after great suffering he died on November 28, 1863. His end was peaceful.

Dempster had performed a great service for the Church. He possessed some striking traits of character. He delighted in metaphysical studies and "loved to grapple with the most difficult problems connected with the divine government and the destiny of man." He was conversant with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. As a public speaker he showed remarkable power.

The centenary celebration of 1866 brought to the Garrett Biblical Institute donations amounting to \$50,000, while an equal sum coming to the biblical institute at Concord provided for its removal to Boston. In the same year provision was made for another theological school by the gift of \$600,000 from Daniel Drew, while the Martin Mission Institute, at Frankfort-on-Main, was founded by the gift of \$25,000 by John T. Martin, of Brooklyn.

Daniel Drew began life in a very humble way. In middle life he became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

and soon afterward determined to found a thoroughly equipped school for the training of ministers. Besides establishing the Drew Theological Seminary he also founded the Drew Ladies' Seminary at Carmel, N. Y. He gave, in all, the



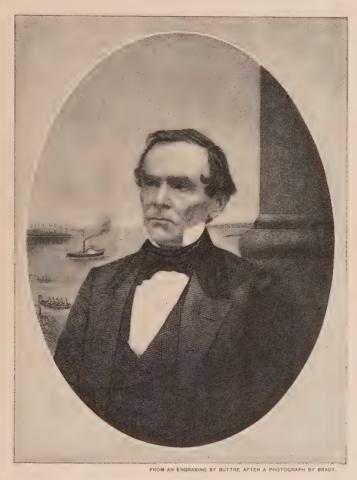
MEMORIAL HALL, GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

Containing chapel, recitation rooms, and library.

sum of \$600,000 to found the seminary at Madison, N. J. Up to that time no one in America had given so much for the cause of education, and his example has proved to be a great incentive to others, as evidenced by the many large gifts since made in different parts of the country to found colleges and universities.

Property at Madison, N. J., was purchased, necessary buildings erected on a liberal scale, and on November 6,

1867, the school was formally opened with the Rev. John McClintock as president. The outlook was bright. From the beginning Drew Seminary has been a success. But in



DANIEL DREW, ESQ.

Founder of Drew Theological Seminary.

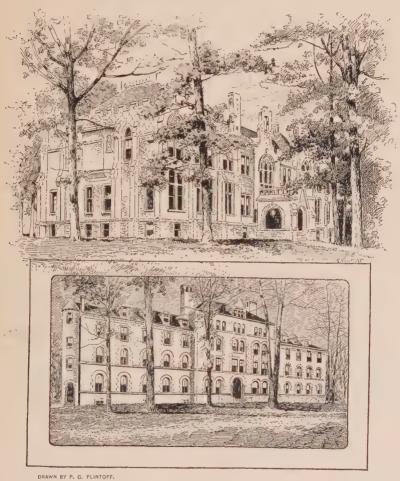
1876 it received a blow from which at first its friends thought it would never recover. Many business houses had failed.

The money market was in an uncertain state. Many wealthy men became bankrupts, others to a greater or less extent felt the stress. Mr. Drew was one of those who met with great losses. He reluctantly informed the trustees of the seminary that he would be unable to continue the payment of the interest on the note which constituted the endowment of the seminary. The real estate was not affected, since it had already been deeded to the trustees in fee simple. To provide means to conduct the work of the institution and to build up a permanent endowment was now the difficult The circumstances which had caused Mr. problem. Drew's embarrassment made it difficult to secure from other sources the large gifts required. But generous friends were found to come to the institution's relief. A. V. Stout. Esq., of New York, gave \$40,000 to endow the president's chair; the heirs of the late Hon. George T. Cobb, of New Jersey, gave property estimated to be worth \$40,000 for the endowment of the Chair of New Testament Exegesis, and other large gifts, since the most needy crisis, have strengthened the institution and placed it on a safe and strong foundation.

In conjunction with these three theological schools—at Boston, Evanston, and Madison—various universities under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church have added theological departments to their educational systems, while others have so modified their curricula as to afford candidates for the ministry special facilities for biblical and philological studies.

Meanwhile the Church has enlarged its requirements of the ministerial candidate. Young men are not only urged to seek in the college and seminary the best preparation for the Christian ministry, but through the agency of the Board of

Education, and scholarships freely offered, it has been made very easy to obtain the best facilities.



DREW SEMINARY BUILDINGS.

Administration Building, containing chapel and recitation halls.

Hoyt-Bowne Building for student dormitory,

The General Conference of 1884 earnestly advised all candidates for the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church

"to attend, if possible, one or more of the literary or theological institutions of our Church before applying to an Annual Conference for admission on trial."

The four years' course of study required by the Church of every minister after his entrance into the Conference has been made more thorough. During recent years the entrance



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

CORNELL LIBRARY BUILDING, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

to the Conference has been more carefully guarded than ever before. By order of the General Conference every Annual Conference now has a board of examiners appointed by the presiding bishop, to which are referred all preachers, both traveling and local, pursuing the course of study with a view to ordination. The examinations are thorough, and the purpose to establish and maintain a high standard of intellectual excellence has taken possession of the Church.

To encourage the minister to place the highest estimate on the training of the schools it is provided that properly authenticated certificates, showing that the candidate, as a regular attendant on the class-room instruction in one of our institutions, has already pursued and passed satisfactory examinations on one or more of the subjects prescribed



FROM A P OTOGRAPH.

INTERIOR OF CORNELL LIBRARY, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

in the course of study, shall be accepted by an Annual Conference as equivalent to that of its own committee of examination.

The report of the Board of Education for 1900 enumerated no less than twenty-five theological institutions under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Of these no less than eleven were located in Europe, Asia, South America, and Mexico. Two, Gammon at South Atlanta, Ga., and Grant at Chattanooga, Tenn., were in the South. One for Japanese was in San Francisco, Cal. Two for Germans were at Berea, O., and Mount Pleasant, Ia. At Evanston, that coming educational center of Methodism, were the Swedish and Norwegian-Danish schools. Iliff School of the University of Denver; Central Wesleyan College, Warrenton, Mo.; Charles City College, Charles City, Ia.; St. Paul's College, St. Paul Park, Minn., complete the list. Some of these schools are still in their infancy, but most of them are doing admirable work and contributing to the elevation of the educational standard of our ministry. Late returns show that the Church has invested nearly \$3,500,000 in buildings and endowments for theological education, and that upward of one thousand young men are in regular attendance upon our several theological training schools.



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Rev. Nathan Bangs, D.D.

College President, Editor, Publishing Agent, Missionary Storftary, From the portrait in the Mission Rooms, New York.







CHAPTER LXXIV

A Growing Literature

EZEKIEL COOPER'S SUCCESSORS—THE ADVENT OF NATHAN BANGS,—A GREAT PUBLISHER.—THE BOOK ROOM IN MULBERRY STREET.—805 BROADWAY.—150 FIFTH AVENUE.—THE WESTERN BOOK CONCERN.—Depositories in Chicago.—Publications.—Business.—Dividends.

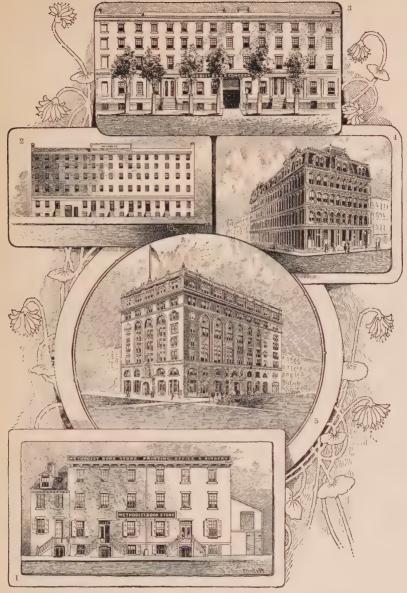
HE Book Concern in New York prospered greatly under the sagacious management of Ezekiel Cooper. When he resigned from its direction, in 1809, its capital amounted to \$145,000. His successor was John Wilson. Hitherto the agents had occupied regular preaching stations while conducting the publishing interests of the Church. A change was now made.

Wilson was relieved of pastoral labor, and his successors have been required to devote all their time to the Concern. At Wilson's death, in 1810, his assistant, Daniel Hitt, assumed charge of the business and in 1812 was duly elected principal agent. Eight years thereafter Nathan Bangs was elected to the head of the Concern. Bangs was a man of strong character, and his career as a Methodist minister was eminently successful. He was born in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1778, converted in 1800, and admitted to the New York Con-

ference two years afterward. The first six years of his ministry were spent in Canada, where he went from village to village as a missionary. He was a circuit pastor in New York State in 1808. He was a delegate to every General Conference from 1808 to 1856, with the exception of 1848, and was a prominent figure in this legislative body of the Church. Under his management the business of the Book Concern increased greatly. He was reelected in 1824. During the next four years, in addition to his regular duties, he did a large part of the editorial work of The Christian Advocate, besides being editor of the Methodist Magazine. Up to 1822 no printing or binding had been done by the Book Concern; but in that year the basement of the Wesleyan Seminary in Crosby Street was rented for the Book Concern, and a book bindery was there established.

The growing settlement of what was then "the West," and the difficulty of transportation, demanded the distribution of religious literature in the new country and at the same time called for a publishing house in that new section. The General Conference authorized the establishment of a depository at Cincinnati. Generous contributions were made by a few interested members of the Church and buildings were erected in that city.

While Bangs and Emory were book agents in New York the Concern purchased the seminary building, and in September, 1824, it began the printing business. The business speedily grew, and in 1832 five lots were bought on Mulberry Street, on which large buildings were erected for the manufacturing department. The Book Concern was rapidly becoming a great power for good in the world, and as a business enterprise was beginning to rank among the strongest and most successful. On February 18, 1836, however, the



DRAWN BY P. E. FLINTOFF

THE HOMES OF THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN IN NEW YORK.

The old Wesleyan Academy building. Occupied 1824 to 1833.
 The first building at 200 Mulberry
Street. Occupied 1833 to 1836.
 The second building on the Mulberry Street site, built 1836.
 The iron building, 805 Broadway, occupied 1869 to 1889 as a store and office building.
 The brick and stone structure, 150 Fifth Avenue, corner of Twentieth Street, built 1888-1889.
 The rear section was added in 1899.



buildings and the entire stock were destroyed by fire, the loss reaching the sum of \$250,000.

The insurance companies of New York were so crippled by a disastrous fire only a little while before that the Book Concern was able to collect very little money from them. The



GEORGE LANE.
Publishing agent at New York, 1836-1852.

LEVI SCOTT.

Publishing agent at New York, 1848-1852.

Consecrated bishop 1852.

general public was aroused, collections were taken in the churches, and \$89,984 was raised to restore the Concern. This amount, added to the insurance money received and the value of the lots, placed in the hands of the agents a capital of \$281,650.77.

The General Conference, which met in less than three months, received liberal offers from Baltimore and Philadelphia of suitable ground for a new building. The offers were declined. The Concern must remain in New York. New

buildings were erected, and the business became more extensive than ever.

The division of the properties of the Book Concern, as a result of the separation of 1844, not only diminished considerably the working capital of the New York and Western



THOMAS CARLTON, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1852-1872.



JAMES PORTER, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1856-1868.

Concerns, but the organization of the Southern Church limited their field of operation.

However, the business advanced rapidly, growing in importance and profit in proportion to the numerical, intellectual, and financial expansion of the Church.

It soon outgrew its modest accommodations on Mulberry

Street, and in 1869 a more prominent and capacious building was purchased, on the corner of Broadway and Eleventh Street, by the joint action of the Book Concern and the Missionary Society, at a cost of about \$1,000,000. Here, at 805 Broadway, for many years the offices of the various depart-



REUBEN NELSON, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1872-1879.



CHARLES B. TIPPETT.
Publishing agent at New York, 1844-1848.

ments of Church activity were located and a large retail bookstore was conducted, while in the Mulberry Street buildings the manufacturing department was continued.

The General Conference of 1872 heard, and through a large committee examined, certain charges of irregularity and loss in the conduct of the business of the Book Concern,



JOHN MILTON PHILLIPS.
Publishing agent at New York, 1872-1889.

SANDFORD HUNT, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1879-1896.

rumors of which had been afloat for the past four years. The committee's report was: "That frauds had been practiced in the bindery by which the Book Concern had suffered loss, but in no other department of the Concern;" that there "had been irregularities in the management of the business," but that there were "no reasonable grounds to presume that any agent or assistant agent is or has been implicated or interested in any frauds." This report the General Conference adopted.

In 1889, the centennial year of its foundation, the New York Book Concern was again moved. A handsome building was erected on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twentieth Street, the joint property of the Concern and the Missionary Society.

The Methodist Book Concern is now one of the largest



HOMER EATON, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1889-

GEORGE P. MAINS, D.D.
Publishing agent at New York, 1896-

publishing houses in the city of New York. It is abreast of the times in improved machinery and its mechanical work is of a high order. It is the largest religious publishing house in the world.

The Western Methodist Book Concern, at Cincinnati, established in 1820, has had a vigorous career, and has by degrees grown to such proportions as to give it in the West a place equal in influence and profit to the New York house.

It did not have a separate corporate existence, but was simply a branch of the New York Book Concern, until 1840. Martin Ruter, a man of thirty-five years, was the first agent. In 1824 he was reelected, but in 1828 relinquished the position to accept the presidency of Augusta College. He at first transacted all the business in one room of his dwelling house. Prior to 1830 it was found to be profitable

to send books in sheets from New York to be bound in Cincinnati. Not until 1833, when the Western Christian



AFTER A PORTRAIT DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY LONGACRE.

 $\label{eq:Martin_RUTER} \mbox{MARTIN RUTER, D.D.}$ First agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern.

Advocate was established, was much printing done by the Western house.

The first building erected for its use was on a lot purchased for the purpose on the corner of Main and Eighth Streets. In 1869 the present situation, on Fourth Street, was secured



DRAWN BY J P. DAVIS.

BOOK CONCERN BUILDINGS.

Store and factory, Cincinnati, 1870–1893.

Depository of the New York house Depository of the Cincinnati house at Pittsburg, 1894. at Chicago, erected 1899.

Cincinnati buildings as enlarged, 1894.



and buildings erected, which have since been greatly enlarged and improved. Here are found the bookstore, the business offices, the bishops' room, editors' offices, and the offices of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society.

The General Conference of 1852 ordered the establishment of a branch house or depository at Chicago, where the publication of the Northwestern Christian Advocate was provided



JOHN F. WRIGHT.

Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1832-1844.

LEROY SWORMSTEDT.
Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1836-1860.

for. During the disastrous Chicago fire, in 1871, this depository was utterly destroyed, the loss amounting to over \$100,000. The Church, however, was not dismayed, but rebuilt at once. The present fireproof building on Washington Street, built in 1899 at a cost of \$225,000, is a valuable center of literary and religious influence. Here the regular booksale business is conducted, the Northwestern Christian

Advocate and the Epworth Herald are printed, and the office of the Epworth League is located.

In 1856 a depository was established in St. Louis. Property was purchased on Sixth Street, but subsequently a more advantageous situation was found. By order of the General



FROM A WOODCUT IN "CYCLOPÆDIA OF METHODISM."

JOHN THOMAS MITCHELL.

Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1844-1850.

Conference of 1900 this depository was removed to Kansas City. These branches have proved profitable agencies in forwarding the purposes of the publishing house at Cincinnati.

Connected with the New York Concern there are four depositories — one each at Boston, Pittsburg, San Francisco and Detroit.

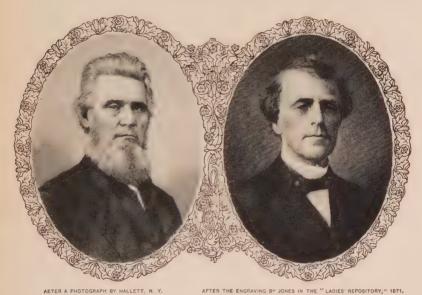
The general supervision of the publishing interests of the Church is the duty of the Book Committee,

who report to the Annual Conferences and to the General Conference. This committee is divided into two sections of ten members each, one section supervising the New York Concern, and the other the Western. Local committees of three members each, resident in New York or vicinity and Cincinnati, have special and immediate control of the Eastern and Western houses respectively.

The catalogue of the Methodist Book Concern has become a volume. The rise and progress of the Sunday school, the extension of the missionary and educational interests, the rapid growth of the Epworth League, together with the varied, increasing demands of evangelical work, have promoted a legitimate and healthy growth in the literature of the Church.

The Book Concern prints works for every class, and not only for English-speaking readers, but in German, Spanish, Scandinavian, and other languages.

The study of the Holy Scriptures has been greatly facili-

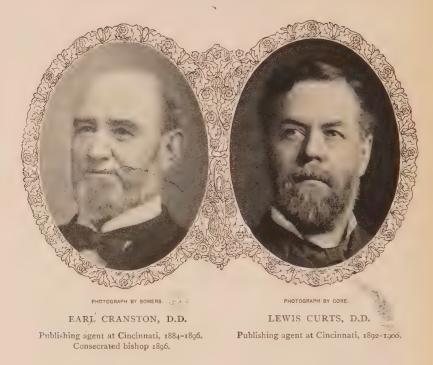


ADAM POE, D.D.
Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1852-1868.

LUKE HITCHCOCK, D.D.

Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1860-1880.

tated by the publication from time to time of commentaries on parts or the whole of the sacred book. Among the earliest were commentaries by Joseph Benson and Adam Clarke. In later years the New Testament of Clarke's Commentary was revised by Daniel Curry. Whedon placed the Christian world under lasting obligation by the publication of his commentaries.



The little Bible concordance by George Coles has been superseded by Strong's Exhaustive Concordance, a monument to the industry of its untiring compiler.

Systematic theology has been emphasized in recent years. John Miley's work in two volumes appeared in 1893, and Miner Raymond's in three volumes was issued in 1877. Bishop Foster's Studies in Theology, in six thick octavos (1890–1899), are among the most notable productions of Methodist authorship in the past decade. The Crooks-Hurst Library of Biblical and Theological Literature comprises seven volumes: Volume I, Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, by Henry M. Harman, D.D.; Volume II, Biblical Hermeneutics, by Milton S. Terry, D.D.; Volume III, Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology, by George R. Crooks, D.D., and John



HENRY C. JENNINGS, D.D. Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1896-

SAMUEL H. PYE.
Publishing agent at Cincinnati, 1900-

F. Hurst, D.D.; Volume IV, Christian Archæology, by Charles W. Bennett, D.D.; Volumes V, VI, Systematic Theology, by John Miley, LL.D.; Volumes VII, VIII, History of the Christian Church, by John F. Hurst.

The Book Concern has given to the Church a valuable collection of biographical and historical literature along denominational lines. Its list of publications in these two departments at the present time embraces more than one hundred volumes of American subjects and half as many British.

The histories by Stevens are of great value. In 1848 he published his Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into New England. This was followed by Memorials of the Progress of Methodism in the Eastern States; History of the Religious Movement called Methodism, in three volumes (1858–1861); Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, D.D. (1863);

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in four volumes (1864-1867); The Centenary of American Methodism (1866); The Compendious History of American Methodism; and Supplementary History of American Methodism.

The presses of the Book Concern have done a great work for the youth of the Church in the publication of select Sunday school libraries, which have been and are very popular.

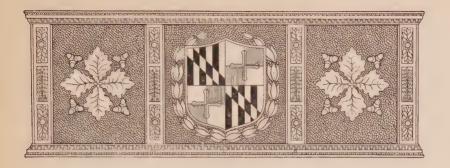


REV. WILLIAM P. STOWE,

During the quadrennium ending with 1899 the sales of the Book Concern at New York amounted to \$4,138,438.32, and of the Western Book Concern to \$4,143,131.38; total, \$8,281,569.70.

The Discipline of the Church has ordered that the profits arising from the Book Concern, after a sufficient capital to carry on the business is retained, shall be

regularly applied to the relief of traveling, supernumerary, and superannuated ministers, their wives, widows, and children, and that the publishing agents shall each year forward to each Annual Conference a statement of the dividend to which it is entitled, together with a draft for the same. In the quadrennium 1895–1899 the aggregate amount of dividends thus disbursed by the Book Concern was \$380,000.



CHAPTER LXXV

Close of Kin

THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.—JACOB ALBRIGHT AND PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.—RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG THE GERMANS.—SPIRITUAL GROWTH.—CHURCHES ORGANIZED.—BISHOP ASBURY'S FRIENDSHIP FOR THE LEADERS.

HE Evangelical Association was organized in 1800, in eastern Pennsylvania. About 1791 the Rev. Jacob Albright, seeing the general demoralization of religious life and doctrine in the German churches of Pennsylvania, determined to labor for a reformation. He traveled extensively through the country preaching the pure word of God. He had at first no thought of forming a new organization, but soon considered it necessary in order to preserve the fruit of his work. His spiritual children, scattered over several counties of Pennsylvania, looked affectionately to him for guidance. Upon the organization of the Association they unanimously elected him their pastor, or bishop, with authority "to exercise all the functions of the ministerial office over them." They declared the Bible to be their only rule of faith and practice.

As time advanced and the converts increased the organization was much improved by the adoption of a creed and

discipline. The ministry grew, Annual Conferences were formed, and finally, in 1816, the first General Conference, consisting of all the elders in the ministry, was held in



FROM HE ENGRAVING BY KOEVOETS

JACOB ALBRIGHT.

Founder of the Evangelical Association.

Union County, Pa. Since 1843 the quadrennial General Conference has been a delegated body, chosen from the elders in the Annual Conferences. For three decades the

Church had to withstand severe opposition. It, however, grew in numbers and spiritual power. To-day it extends over various parts of the North and West, even to the Pacific coast, and in Canada and Europe. It has 148,783 communicants, 1,311 ministers, and 2,367 churches. Its growth has been slow, but it has ever retained its simplicity



JACOB ALBRIGHT'S BIRTHPLACE.

of life, its deep spirituality, and its interest in the evangelization of the world.

In 1838 a missionary society was organized, and besides planting several hundred missions in the home land, many of which have since grown to be self-supporting churches, it has established and is supporting missions in foreign fields.

Its publishing house in Cleveland, O., issues Der Christliche Botschafter, a weekly; The Evangelical Messenger, a weekly; and Der Christliche Kinderfreund and the Sunday School Messenger for the Sunday school.

A charitable society was organized in 1835 for the assistance

of the needy widows and children of deceased itinerant ministers. Several Annual Conferences have also formed church



FROM THE MEZZO INT BY JOHN SARTAIN.

JOHN SEYBERT.

A bishop of the Evangelical Association, 1839-1859.

building societies, similar in form and purpose to those in other denominations.

The Evangelical Association has not been unmindful of the educational needs of its youth. Among the literary and charitable institutions are the Northwestern College, at Naperville, Ill.; the Blairstown Seminary, in Iowa; and the Ebenezer Orphan Institution, at Flat Rock, O.

In doctrine the Evangelical Association is Arminian. The



JOSEPH LONG.

A bishop of the Evangelical Association, 1843-1869.

members are often called, though incorrectly, the Albright Methodists, or German Methodists. In 1807 the people were indeed known as New Methodists, and in a certificate of ordination issued by Jacob Albright they are so denominated. Albright was in spirit and teaching so near to Bishop Asbury

that it is not surprising that they should have been warm friends.

The Evangelical Association observes the itinerancy in the ministry and recognizes two orders only. The bishops are elected by the General Conference and the presiding elders by the Annual Conferences, "yet these, to be continued, must be reelected every four years." In other forms the organization is very similar to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The United Brethren in Christ, another organization in doctrine, spirit, and government closely resembling the Methodist Episcopal Church, claims as its antecedents the Waldenses, the Moravians, and the United Brethren of former generations in Europe.

In this country, however, it owes its origin to the Rev. Philip William Otterbein, who in 1752 came to America from Dillenberg, in the Duchy of Nassau, Germany. He was a minister of the German Reformed Church. While in his first American pastorate, at Lancaster, Pa., he yearned over the people under his care, and by earnest preaching awakened some of them to a new life. He spent six years at Lancaster, and then went to Tulpehocken, Pa., where he adopted unusual methods to awaken religious interest in the community.

This was before the rise of Methodism in America. The German churches were in a low religious state. His preaching provoked criticism, but he was calm and dignified and did not in the least swerve from his holy purposes. During his pastorate at Tulpehocken Otterbein met Martin Boehm, a Mennonite preacher, who in Lancaster County, Pa., was the central figure in a great religious awakening.

At a meeting held in a barn in Lancaster County,

Otterbein's soul was stirred by Boehm's preaching, and, recognizing that they two were one in spirit and aim, at the



BISHOPS OF THE UNITED BRETHREN, 1900.

BISHOP NICHOLAS CASTLE BISHOP EZ BISHOP JAMES W. HOTT.

BISHOP EZEKIEL B KEPHART.
BISHOP JOB S. MILLS

conclusion of the sermon he embraced Boehm, at the same

time exclaiming, "We are brethren!" The term "United Brethren in Christ," subsequently given to Otterbein's followers, is said to have been suggested by this utterance. Henceforth Boehm and Otterbein traveled and wrought together. Other ministers arose to assist. The cause spread through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Societies were formed in each place for personal religious advancement, as the churches did not supply the helps their yearning souls demanded.

Otterbein and Boehm were highly esteemed by Bishop Asbury for their piety and fidelity in labors. Of Otterbein Asbury said, in a funeral discourse preached by request of the Baltimore Conference: "The holy, the great Otterbein! Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God, towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only of God and the children of God." Otterbein did not intend to form a new Church, but to develop spiritually the existing organizations to which his people belonged. However, the necessities of the case being soon apparent, an organization was consummated. In 1800 the societies were joined together, assuming the name of the "United Brethren in Christ." Otterbein and Boehm were leading spirits. At first there was no formulated prescribed doctrine. In order to conciliate the Mennonites freedom as to the mode of baptism was granted. Otterbein died in 1813, and the following year a movement was made for a closer organization. In 1815, at the first General Conference, at Mount Pleasant, Pa., forms of doctrines and discipline were adopted:

"Membership in the Church is conditioned upon a belief in the Bible as the word of God, the experience of the pardon of sins, a determination by grace and a good life to save the soul, and a pledge to obey the discipline of the Church." In doctrine the Church is Methodistic. Only one order of ministers is recognized. The bishops are elected for a term of four years. Presiding elders are elected annually, without



MARTIN BOEHM.

One of the founders of the United Brethren Societies in America.

any limitation of time except the option of the Annual Conferences which elect them. The itinerant system of appointing preachers is observed.

In 1853 the Missionary Society was organized by the Gen-

eral Conference, held in Miltonville, O. Missions were established in West Africa in 1855, in Germany in 1870, and in Japan in 1895, as well as in the United States and Canada.

The Woman's Missionary Association, organized in 1875, has missions in Africa and China, publishes a monthly magazine—The Woman's Evangel—and has collected over a quarter of a million dollars during its history.

The Church Erection Society, organized in 1869, has aided in the building of about 275 church edifices, securing to the denomination more than a half million dollars' worth of property.

The publishing house is located at Dayton, O. Its periodical literature is of a superior quality. The Religious Telescope is the Church organ, and has during its existence of sixty-seven years wielded a noteworthy influence, and has earned for itself an honorable place among the denominational journals of the country. The Sunday school literature and the other publications, books, tracts, and pamphlets, have been a powerful agency for good.

The Young People's Watchword is the organ of the Young People's Christian Union, the denominational young people's society. The publishing house sends out several religious papers and all kinds of religious books in the German language. Der Fröhliche Botschafter, the German organ, has had a history of fifty-two years. Der Jugend Pilger is popular with the German Sunday schools. Der Bibel-Forscher gives the International Sunday school Lessons. The Quarterly Review, established in 1889, is both literary and scholarly.

Although the United Brethren Church began among the Germans, it has now only one distinctively German Conference. In 1897 there were in the United Brethren Church 4,249 organized churches, 1,775 itinerant ministers, 243,183

members, and 3,641 Sunday schools, in which were 252,810 scholars. The total contributions for all purposes during the



PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE UNITED BRETHREN, DAYTON, O.

same year were \$1,177,424. The value of the church property is \$5,791,583.



CHAPTER LXXVI

Sanctified Eccentricity

PETER CARTWRIGHT.—A TYPICAL PIONEER.—CONVERTED AT SIXTEEN.
—AN EXHORTER AND CIRCUIT RIDER AT SEVENTEEN.—A PREACHER AT EIGHTEEN.—IN THE CONFERENCE AT NINETEEN.—A PRESIDING ELDER AT TWENTY-SEVEN.—FATHER TAYLOR.—THE MARINERS' PREACHER.—THE SEAMEN'S BETHEL.

PETER CARTWRIGHT is a magnificent example of sanctified eccentricity. He was born September 1, 1785, in a humble cabin in Amherst County, on the James River, in Virginia.

From Virginia to Kentucky was an almost unbroken wilderness, yet the adventurous and ambitious spirit of the pioneers braved all hardship and danger in order to open up the new country. But the region was infested by wild and bloodthirsty Indians. The white man was their enemy. To slay him was their joy. Their method of warfare increased the danger of travel through the wilderness; hence, when two hundred of the families in Amherst County determined to emigrate to Kentucky, they traveled in a compact company guarded by one hundred young men well armed and alert. The road through the wilderness of western Virginia was here and there stained with the blood of white men, whose mangled bodies were alarming evidences of the dangers lurk-

782

ing in the adventurous march of the Cartwrights and their friends. At one time seven families who had started in their company were murdered by the savages.

On a farm in Lincoln County, Ky., on the "hanging fork of Dick's River," near Lancaster, not far from the center of the State, the Cartwrights lived for two years.

Peter's mother was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in her new home identified herself with the pioneer preachers John Page and Benjamin Northcut. When the boy was eight years old the family moved to the "Green River country," and settled in Logan County, nine miles south of Russellville, the county seat, and within one mile of the State line of Tennessee. Soon after their arrival they were visited by a traveling Methodist preacher, Jacob Lurton, to whom the elder Cartwright, though not a religious man, readily opened his house for a preaching place. Peter invited the neighbors to the meeting, and as a result the cabin was crowded to hear the preacher. A class was organized about four miles from the Cartwright cabin, and not long afterward a church built.

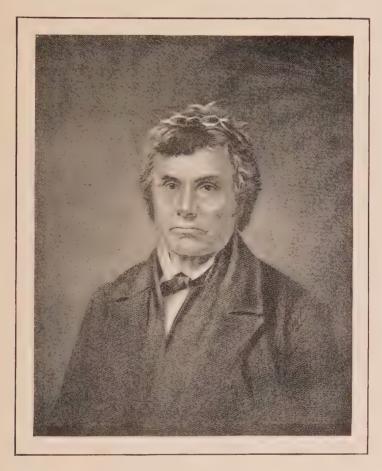
Peter's father was a worldly man. Horse racing and intemperance were prevalent sins of that day, and early in life Peter practiced them all. The father was no check to the son, but the mother's influence and prayers were employed to divert him from his evil course. In his sixteenth year a keen and deep sense of his wickedness overwhelmed him, and after weeks of mental agony, secret prayer, and resistance of the allurements of hardened companions he finally found peace of soul. This momentous event occurred at the memorable sacramental meeting held by the Rev. Mr. McGrady, a Presbyterian minister, in a grove outside his meetinghouse, to which the people crowded from far and near.

In June, 1801, Cartwright joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. John Page was the preacher who received him. When seventeen years old he was licensed to exhort by Jesse Walker, the preacher in charge of Red River Circuit. Soon after this event Peter's family moved again, this time into Lewiston County. He was now eighty miles from any circuit. The presiding elder to whom he applied for letters, for himself, his mother, and a sister, gave him what he said contained a "Benjamin's mess." He says: "It not only stated my membership and authority to exhort, but it gave me authority to travel through all that destitute region, hold meetings, organize classes, and, in a word, to form a circuit, and meet him the next fall at the fourth quarterly meeting of the Red River Circuit with a plan of a new circuit, number of members, names of preachers, if any, exhorters, and class leaders. I am sorry," he continues, "I did not preserve the document; for surely, all things considered, it would be a curiosity to educated and refined Methodists at this day."

He hesitated, but John Page urged him, notwithstanding the lack of education which Peter purposed to try to supply the next year by going to school, assuring him that "this was the very best school or college . . . between heaven and earth," yet advising him to take the first winter for schooling and then start the formation of the circuit in the spring. His schooling was a failure, but his circuit was a success. He "received seventy into the society, appointed leaders, met classes, sung, prayed, and exhorted," and "under the circumstances," says our young hero, "did the best I knew how."

When eighteen years old he became a regular circuit preacher. Under his very first sermon an infidel was convicted and converted. A preacher's salary at that day was

fixed at \$80; but the first three months Cartwright preached he received exactly \$6. Surely he was not a mercenary preacher. In 1804 he was received into the regular ministry.



PETER CARTWRIGHT.

Bishop Asbury presided at the Conference, which was held at Mount Gerizim, Ky. In 1806 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Asbury, and elder in 1808 by Bishop McKendree. He became a presiding elder in 1812, being appointed to the Wabash District by Bishop Asbury. This office in those days meant hard toil and much sacrifice. The district was composed of eight circuits: Vincennes, in Indiana, and Little Wabash and Fort Massack, in Illinois, which three circuits were north of the Ohio River; the rest of the district was in Kentucky, namely, Livingston, Christian, Henderson, Hartford, and Breckenridge Circuits. "In traveling the district," Cartwright says, "I had to cross the Ohio River sixteen times during the year." In 1823 he removed to Illinois. Two years afterward he was appointed presiding elder and continued in this office until 1860, when he became superannuated, being eighty-four years old. His Conference, however, honored him with the title of conference missionary in 1870 and 1872. Although a man who had never enjoyed the privileges of a scholastic education, he was repeatedly appointed visitor to educational institutions—six times to McKendree College, three times to Illinois Wesleyan University, and once to Garrett Biblical Institute.

Cartwright was a typical pioneer Methodist preacher. Accustomed to simple fare and to danger, at home in the saddle, an itinerant from his childhood, he was fitted for the life of a circuit rider. Under his eye, and largely through his labors, classes grew into churches, churches into circuits, and they into districts and Conferences. His hand blazed the way for the safe and easy march of Methodism in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Some conception of the remarkable work of the pioneers can be had by a glance at the comparison Cartwright makes in his Autobiography between the years 1804 and 1824. When, in 1804, he entered the traveling connection there was only one Conference in that Western frontier country; in twenty years there were eight Conferences. During the same

period four presiding elder districts had increased to thirty; thirty-two traveling preachers to over four hundred; eleven thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven members to over one hundred and twenty thousand.

Cartwright was a man of remarkable physical constitution. Untiring, strong, daring, he was more than a match for rough roads and rough men. He feared no man. Many are the stories of his defiance of threats against his life, and of triumphant conflict with ruffians who sought to thwart his zealous and pious labors. Sometimes by his wit and humor he silenced enemies and disarmed combatants. He had a keen perception of the humorous and the odd, and enjoyed the ludicrous side of the pioneer life. Rude he was oftentimes, but he had rough men to handle. The mailed hand best suited the pioneer. Peculiar he was, in opinion and personal traits, but never untrue or indolent. Notwithstanding his rudeness and idiosyncrasies he was highly respected by public men, and he was the trusted adviser of leaders in the Church. He early became a leader himself. At twenty-seven years of age he was a presiding elder, and four years afterward, in 1816, was elected a delegate to the General Conference. He was a delegate to thirteen General Conferences in succession. He thoroughly believed the doctrines of his Church, and was immovable in his devotion to its polity. He was not a silent member of the General Conference, but an active participant. His speeches were short, pithy, direct, bold, and in every way characteristic. He was a safe legislator. His bluntness, humor, and sarcasm were eminently effective.

It is said of Cartwright that, having been born six years before the death of Wesley, and living to such an advanced age, he passed through many remarkable changes in the history of the Church, and yet at no time was he disloyal to its economy and doctrines. As a citizen also, having been born before the nation had a constitution, and passing through the changeful history of the nation, he was ever found, as to his Church so to his nation, loyal to its interests. At the advanced age of eighty-seven years "he died in peace, honored and revered by the Church and the community."

Contemporaneous with Cartwright in the West was another eccentric in the most cultured city of the Eastern seaboard, equally distinguished, yet very dissimilar in many ways, the Rev. Edward T. Taylor.

Father Taylor, as he was generally known, was, like Cartwright, a native of Virginia, born about 1793. He very early in life became a sailor, and in that capacity was subject to all the corrupting influences of wicked associations, but eventually he was led to turn his thoughts to holy things. One day his ship anchored in Boston harbor and he entered Bromfield Street, where he was attracted by the singing at an evening service held in the Methodist church of which Elijah Hedding, afterward bishop, was pastor. He crawled through the window to gain admission to the meeting, but he went out of the door another man. The Spirit of God seized his breast, he was deeply convicted of sin and was soundly converted before he left the church. Much sympathy was aroused, and interest in the friendless sailor boy was manifested.

He was then eighteen years old. He did not forthwith forsake the sea, but reembarked with the full determination to live a godly life before the mast. He sailed on a privateer, and his vessel was captured and he taken a prisoner to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Here he was recognized and cared for by a lady friend from Boston, a member of Bromfield Street Church, who, in Halifax on business, visited the prison

bent on doing good. As soon as he was released from prison he went to Saugus, Mass., a little town a few miles north of Boston, and there began to preach. He was licensed to preach in 1815, and as a local preacher did active service for



FATHER TAYLOR, THE SAILOR PREACHER.

four years. In 1819 he was admitted into the New England Conference. For ten years he served as an itinerant, filling with acceptability and great usefulness various appointments in the Conference. In 1829 he was stationed at Boston as a "mariners' preacher." In this capacity he won the distinction which has differentiated him from all other preachers of his day. For forty-three years, even unto his death, Father Taylor was reappointed to this work, for which by taste and

former associations he was eminently qualified. Although without those attainments secured by scholastic training, yet, having marvelous natural powers of body and mind, he accomplished wonderful results. His fame as an eloquent preacher became world-wide. His eager and tireless labors in behalf not only of the sailor, but of the poor and degraded everywhere, were heralded abroad by careful observers who visited his "Bethel" to study his methods and to see the man who was willing to consecrate his eloquence and subordinate his ambition to the eternal interests of the lowliest and the lowest. He was one of the chief attractions in Boston. The Bethel was visited not only by the learned and wealthy of Boston, but by tourists from abroad. Miss Martineau, Buckingham, Miss Bremer, Mrs. Jamieson, and Charles Dickens wrote of him in their notes on American travel. Dickens, who visited America in 1841, while in Boston went to hear Taylor preach. He evidently gave the quaint preacher studious attention, for in his "American Notes," published in 1842, he not only describes the preaching place and the audience, but recites his text, and in vivid language depicts the various parts of the sermon. He appreciatively comments on Taylor's simplicity, earnestness, directness, originality, and devotion to truth. Doubtless he was to Dickens a curiosity, but to his regular auditors he was an inspiration to good.

That he was recognized as an important moral force in Boston is attested by the ready generosity of the general public in building for him, in the year 1833, the "Bethel" in Brattle Street, where he spent many years of his life, and by incessant toil built up the reputation which attached itself to his name.

He was a ready reader of human nature, a lover of humanity, a firm believer in the Gospel cure for sin. He was

witty and brave in denouncing sin, but tender and persuasive in offering the Saviour to the most degraded. He regarded not set forms, believing that direct results were of greater



SEAMEN'S BETHEL CHAPEL, BOSTON.
The scene of Father Taylor's labors.

worth than the observance of inflexible rules. After a life well employed he died, in Boston, on April 5, 1871.



CHAPTER LXXVII

Cartwright Humors

CARTWRIGHT AND GENERAL JACKSON.—CURING THE "JERKS."—THE
BEST TALENT FOR THE EPISCOPACY.—THE COLLEGE FOR PIONEERS.—
CARTWRIGHT ON EDUCATION.—FAMILY PRAYERS WHILE THE FAMILY
SLEPT.—BRIMSTONE ANGELS.—PRAYING OUT A TAVERN BILL.—
CLOWNS AND FOPS.—CARTWRIGHT ACCEPTS A CHALLENGE TO FIGHT
A DUEL.—A DANCE TURNED TO A REVIVAL.—SUPERANNUATE TEN
HOURS.

PETER CARTWRIGHT'S peculiarities are now the property of the world. The Revue des Deux Mondes has given full attention to his career, as typical of American dealing with untoward environment. He was independent and fearless. In 1818 he preached in Nashville during the session of the Tennessee Conference. The pastor did not approve of his rough ways; he was nervous lest his clerical guest might say something aside from the proprieties. Cartwright had just read his text, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" when General Jackson walked up the aisle and leaned against a pillar, there being no vacant seats. Cartwright felt some one pulling his coat, whereupon he turned his head, and the fastidious preacher whispered, "General Jackson has come in." Cartwright, in his Autobiography, says: "I felt a flash

of indignation run all over me like an electric shock, and facing about to my congregation, and purposely speaking out audibly, I said: 'Who is General Jackson? If he don't get converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea negro.'" The preacher was shocked, the congregation, including the general, smiled. The preacher called on the general the next day and apologized for Cartwright's behavior, but upon meeting Cartwright, Jackson said: "You are a man after my own heart. If I had a few thousand such independent, fearless officers as you are, and a well-drilled army, I could take old England."

Cartwright's wit served him well in the conduct of his aggressive work. In his day a remarkable feature of the exciting revivals was what was known as "the jerks." During an impressive sermon persons would be "seized with a convulsive jerking all over, which they could not by any possibility avoid, and the more they resisted the more they jerked."

On one occasion, in a very large congregation in Kentucky, two very finely dressed young ladies "took the jerks." They were greatly mortified, and one of the two brothers of the ladies accused Cartwright of having given the jerks to their sisters by the use of a small phial from which he had taken a little peppermint before preaching, and threatened to horsewhip him. Taking out the phial, Cartwright said to them, "Yes; if I gave your sisters the jerks, I'll give them to you." In a moment they were scared. Cartwright moved toward them. As he advanced his accuser wheeled and ran, warning the preacher not to come near him or he would kill him. The laugh was on the young men. Before the end of the year these young men and their sisters united with the Church.

Cartwright had decided opinions on an educated ministry. He says: "I do not wish to undervalue education, but really I have seen so many of these educated preachers who forcibly reminded me of lettuce growing under the shade of a peach tree, or like a gosling that had got the straddles by wading in the dew, that I turned away sick and faint."

Toward the latter part of his life, referring to Abel Stevens's opinion that some of the bishops had talents of too high a grade "to be buried in the unimportant and comparatively small official duties of their office," he said: "When I consider the responsible duties of a bishop in our Church... I must frankly say that I have never had the first spasm of fear of getting men of too high a grade of talent, yea, of business talent, to perform the functions of their office with credit to themselves and promotion of the best interests of the Church of God."

After describing the toils, dangers, and privations of a pioneer, he exclaims: "O ye downy doctors and learned presidents and professors, heads of the Methodist literature of the present day, remember the above course of training was the college in which we early Methodist preachers graduated, and from which we took our diplomas! Here we solved our mathematical problems, declined our nouns and conjugated our verbs, parsed our sentences, and became proficient in the dead languages of the Indian and backwoods dialect."

He was opposed to admitting into the Conference men who purposed to be educators and who had not "traveled" a single day. Said he: "Our colleges are rapidly multiplying, and I hope they will continue to do so; but who does not see that in a few years our local agents, presidents, and professors may form even a majority of our Annual Conferences?

and then the itinerant system will be very much like a man riding a race with the reins of his horse's bridle tied to a stump."

Cartwright hated everything like sham. One night he lodged at the house of a "Brother Teel," who had a foolish habit of rising early in the morning, and, while the remainder of the family were still asleep, having "family prayers."



DRAWN BY SOPHIL ANDERSON

FROM THE ENGINEVING IN THE "LAURS" REPORTIONY.

THE ITINERANT.

He would sing aloud, read the Scriptures, and pray. Cartwright, having been forewarned, was forearmed, and determined to outwit his host and teach him a lesson. When he heard his host arising in the early morning he himself hastily dressed, and after a time made his appearance as his host was concluding "family prayers." He was surprised to see Cartwright up, and inquired why he had not "come in to

prayers." Cartwright told him it was wrong to hold family prayers before the family were ready.

In the evening the host invited Cartwright to "hold prayers with the family," but he positively refused. "No, sir; you love to pray so well you may do it yourself. You even thanked God this morning that he had spared you all to see the light of a new day, when your family had not yet opened their eyes, but were all fast asleep. And you have such an absurd way of holding prayers in your family that I do not wish to have anything to do with it."

The reproof was effective. The host acknowledged his error, and afterward all went well. Cartwright was the first to dare reprove that individual.

At one time there arose in Ohio a man named Sargent, a Universalist, who professed to see visions. Cartwright went on his track. One Sunday night Sargent provided himself with powder and lighted a cigar and walked down to the bank of a river, a hundred yards away, where there was a large stump. He put a little powder on the stump and touched it with the cigar. When the powder flashed Sargent fell to the ground and lay there a while. The people having seen the flash, ran to the spot and found Sargent lying there apparently in a swoon. After a while he declared that God had come down to him in a flash of light and that he had received a message from God to the Methodists. Cartwright went down to investigate. Upon arriving at the stump he smelt gunpowder, and upon looking closely saw clear signs of powder and, nearby, the cigar. He stepped up to Sargent and asked him whether an angel had appeared to him in that flash of light. He said, "Yes." Cartwright said, "Sargent, did not that angel smell of brimstone?" "Why," said he, "do you ask me such a foolish question?" "Because," said Cartwright, "if an angel has spoken to you at all, he was from the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone!"—and raising his voice, he said, "I smell sulphur now!" Walking to the stump, he called the people to look upon the evidences of the imposture. Sargent soon left, and the people were no longer troubled with "brimstone angels."

Our hero had occasion to pray under discouraging conditions. On his way to the General Conference at Baltimore in 1820 he and Father Walker stopped at a tavern frequented by a rough crowd. The preachers wanted to pray in the family at night, but the landlord objected, saying that they only wanted to "pray off their bill." Cartwright asked him if he did not keep a house of public entertainment. He said, "Yes." "Then," said Cartwright, "do you not allow men to curse and swear and get drunk in your house, if they pay for it?" He said, "Yes." "Well, then, we have as good a right to pray and serve God in your house, if we pay for it, as they have to serve the devil and pay for it; and I insist that we have our rights. We have plenty of money and don't wish to pray off our bill." He then said to Walker, "Go to prayer, and if he cuts up any capers I'll down him and hold him still till you are done praying; for the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Walker prayed without interference, though the landlord was very sullen. The next morning the landlady apologized for the conduct of her husband, who did not put in appearance, and absolutely refused to take any pay for their entertainment.

At a camp meeting in Kentucky Cartwright was very much disturbed by some "youngsters, who called themselves gentlemen," who persisted in occupying the seats set apart for the ladies. Cartwright requested them to move. Some did, but

about a score refused, whereupon Cartwright said, "We request every gentleman to retire from the ladies' seats that I may see how many country clowns and fops there are; for these will not move!" All but five left, in compliance with this gentle request, and he began to count the "clowns and fops," whereupon they left in a hurry, very angry. One of them, a young lawyer, told the circumstance to his father, Major L., who, meeting Cartwright at dinner, took him to task for his effrontery. Cartwright's reply was so severe that the major challenged the preacher to fight a duel, which Cartwright accepted instantly. Claiming the right to select the weapons, he said to the angry major, "We will step over here into this lot, and get a couple of cornstalks; I think I can finish you with one." The major was enraged, and said, "If I thought I could whip you, I would smite you in a moment." "Yes, yes, Major L.," said the preacher; "but, thank God, you can't whip me; but don't you attempt to strike me, for if you do, and the devil gets out of you into me, I shall give you the worst whipping you ever got in your life." That night the major's mind underwent a change, and he sent for Cartwright to pray for him. He was soon afterward converted.

One of the most amusing incidents in his career was his turning a dance into a revival meeting. One night he was guest at a house where a dance was held. Cartwright was invited by a young lady to dance with her. He was of course astonished, but accepted the invitation and stepped to the lady's side. But before the dance began he quietly said that for years he had never undertaken any matter of importance without first asking the blessing of God upon it, and at once went down on his knees. He retained the young lady's hand as he prayed, although she struggled for her

freedom. Presently she fell on her knees. The scene produced a profound impression. Some wept aloud. The dance was at an end. Cartwright exhorted, and the people sang and prayed nearly all night. About fifteen professed religion, and the meeting lasted the next day and night. Cartwright organized a society, admitted thirty-two into the Church, and he sent them a preacher. The landlord was appointed class leader, and a revival of religion spreading over that whole neighborhood was the result of this dance.

In 1831 Cartwright, who "felt the worse for wear" after traveling about twenty-eight years, asked to be a superannuate. But his bravery and self-sacrifice were tested a few hours afterward. A new district was formed in a very rough region, but no presiding elder was willing to take it. Bishop Soule was about to merge it into another district when Cartwright told him that he could remedy the evil; that if the Conference would make him effective again, he would take the appointment. This was done, and, "so, you see," writes Cartwright many years afterward, "I have sustained, in more than fifty years, a superannuated relation about ten hours."



CHAPTER LXXVIII

Asbury's Worthy Successor, William McKendree

THE FIRST NATIVE AMERICAN METHODIST BISHOP,—A STATESMAN AND A LEADER,—HIS DEATH.

ILLIAM McKENDREE was fifty years old when elected bishop, and was the first native American to occupy that position. He had made his fame as presiding elder of the Western District. His eight years in that field had developed those qualities of leadership with which nature had liberally endowed him. Under his guidance its membership grew from one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, in 1800, to sixteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, in 1808, and its one district became five, which was served by sixty-six preachers. One of the most extensive revivals known in American ecclesiastical history it was his privilege to foster. He saw it ascend the mountains eastward and traverse a great part of the Mississippi valley.

His advent upon the scene of the General Conference at Baltimore, in 1808, was a surprise to the Church; for he had not yet become known beyond his Western field. His fervid eloquence and spiritual power manifested in one magnificent sermon placed him at a bound in the leadership of his Church

as Asbury's successor. The opening years of the nineteenth century were productive of men of power in both Church and State. McKendree was born during the turmoil of the French and Indian War, served in the commissary department of the Revolutionary army, and passed through the vicissitudes of the war of 1812. He was born in the same decade with Madison, Monroe, and Marshall. Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams were born ten years later. While he was making fame on the Western District Daniel Webster was teaching school in New England and Henry Clay was a struggling barrister in Kentucky. Clay was elected to the United States Senate the same year in which McKendree became bishop. His episcopate extended from the administration of Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson's second term. He lived to see his Church multiply its membership fourfold and the fellowship of his itinerant brotherhood increase fivefold. The Methodism of the world became a million before his death.

The Conference of 1808 made a wise choice in selecting him as the colleague of the veteran Asbury. His piety was genuine. He was generous and single-hearted and possessed of fine sensibilities. He was a Virginia gentleman of the old school. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Discipline of the Church and with ecclesiastical law, and was by nature a parliamentarian. He dispatched business with great promptitude and was able to solve a difficulty by intuition. He was a master in the art of reading men.

His personal appearance was remarkably prepossessing. He was about six feet in height and of splendid proportions. His complexion was very fair, and his features were Grecian, while his black hair and dark eyes completed a presence which immediately impressed all who beheld him. He was

a preacher of great spiritual power, exhibiting in his discourses a logical and vigorous intellect. His voice was musical and his utterance distinct. When speaking the whole man was engaged, and two thoughts seemed incarnate in him—Christ and the Church. Asbury rejoiced that "the burden is now borne by two pairs of shoulders instead of one; the care is cast upon two hearts and heads."

Immediately after the General Conference which elected him had closed McKendree passed through the West and joined Jesse Walker in Missouri, where the first camp meeting in that region was held. The country, only recently purchased from France, was a wilderness. His tent was made of saddle blankets placed on poles, his fare bread with flesh broiled on sticks before the fire. Many a night he camped out in the wilderness, his slumbers being disturbed by the cries of the wolf and the panther. In four months he had traveled one thousand five hundred miles. He held his first Conference at Liberty Hill, Tenn., on October 1, 1808. Asbury was present and remarked, "Bishop McKendree magnified his office." They journeyed together to Charleston, thence through Georgia, and up the entire Atlantic States to Maine, into Vermont, through New York, west by the lakes, down the Ohio, and through Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Probably no episcopal tour, not even one of Asbury's, meant more to the Church than this.

All the General Conferences from 1812 to 1824 felt the influence of McKendree's masterful hand. He was the first to see that under the Constitution the bishops were not the fathers of the Church, as Asbury had been, but its servants, and as such subject to its control and responsible to it for their administration. He inaugurated the custom of presenting an episcopal address at the General Conference,

after the fashion of the President's message to Congress. From him came the system of the committees of the General Conference, which continues to this day. Many of the orderly methods of that great ecclesiastical body are largely the results of McKendree's administration. The so-called "cabinet," or the advisory body, composed of the bishop and the presiding elders, at the Annual Conference, was favored by him, though strongly opposed by Asbury.

The death of Asbury, in 1816, left McKendree preeminent in the Church. It was his honor, as it was his responsible task, to be at the helm of affairs when the Constitution was undergoing the severe tests to which it was brought by the controversy on the elective presiding eldership, and which continued to the General Conference of 1828, and reappeared in 1876. He felt that the election of the presiding elders by the Conferences would take from the bishops the power of appointment, which constituted the very essence of the itinerant general superintendency. When, in 1820, by a misapprehension, the measure had carried, it was through his influence that it was suspended, and finally, in 1828, received its quietus. Perhaps the two names most intimately associated with the Constitution of the Church are those of Joshua Soule, by whom it was created, and William McKendree, who was its chief interpreter.

The episcopate of McKendree fell upon an era fraught with infinite importance to the future development of Methodism. It was a time of expansion and of the rising of great societies. The Missionary Society—which sought the conversion of the Indians, the slaves, and of the heathen beyond the sea—and the Bible, the Sunday School and the Tract Societies were all organized at this time. Prominent, if not foremost, in planning and sustaining these enterprises was the venerable

McKendree. He was the first president of the Missionary Society, and cooperated with Bangs in its formation.

McKendree was an invalid through a large part of his episcopal term. Though he had been ill for several years, it was while in Tennessee, in the fall of 1818, that he received,



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THUSS, NASHVILLE, TENN.

THE TOMB OF BISHOP MC KENDREE, NASHVILLE, TENN.

The remains of William McKendree were removed from their first resting place, in Sumner County,
Tenn., and buried on the campus of Vanderbilt University, with those of Bishop Soule.

as he says, "a very uncommon shock," and thenceforth his health was gone. Thereafter it was one long fight against disease until his death. His heroic soul, burdened with a frail body, struggled manfully on to the end.

The General Conference of 1820 generously released Mc-Kendree from the labor of holding Conferences, and requested him to use his own discretion as to his work. He was con-

tinued in the same relation until his death. It meant no cessation of his labors, for to the limit of his strength he continued his work until the last. Sometimes he was too ill to hold his Conferences. Once he lay in a carriage on a bed near the stand during the sermon at a camp meeting, and at its close was taken from his bed and supported by two preachers while he performed the ordination service. During the spring and summer of 1830 he was unable to travel much. Nevertheless he attended the Kentucky Conference. and contemplated visiting the Atlantic and other Conferences before the session of the General Conference in 1832, which should meet at Philadelphia in the spring. His illness compelled him to relinquish the attempt. In the fall of 1831 he crossed the Alleghanies, and passed the winter in Baltimore, but attended the General Conference at Philadelphia in May, 1832. He was very feeble, and at its close took an affectionate farewell. It was, as all imagined, his final leave-taking. Trembling on his staff, he seemed like some ancient patriarch giving his benediction. He preached his last sermon at Nashville on November 23, 1834. After a lingering illness he died on March 5, 1835, in his seventy-eighth year and the twenty-seventh of his episcopate. His last connected sentence was, "All is well, for time and eternity. I live by faith in the Son of God; for me to live is Christ, to die is gain."



CHAPTER LXXIX

Glimpses of Humor

TOTING A PREACHER.—THE TITHINGMAN'S DILEMMA.—BAPTIZING THE PUPS.—BILLY BARNES AND HIS WIG.

PATHOS has its play in all religious history. It is the warfare of heroes and the martyrdom of saints, though not always with the blare of trumpets and the flame of fire. Yet the picturesque is not wanting, and grace itself cannot entirely repress the wit of the natural humorist. The grotesque sometimes obtrudes upon the solemn, and occasionally a slip converts the sublime into the ridiculous. Thrilling incidents crowd upon the adventurous itinerants, and romance is outdone by the realities of their eventful lives.

American Methodism furnishes its share of odd characters, humorous narratives, and realistic stories. Jesse Lee, Billy Hibbard, Lorenzo Dow, James Axley, Peter Cartwright, Jacob Gruber, Billy Barnes, and Billy Craven are but a few of a vast army whose wit and eccentricity defy all description. The lives of McKendree, Garrettson, Abbott, Father Taylor, James Smith, James B. Finley, Elijah Hedding, and multitudes of other itinerants are as full of adventure as are the careers of the heroes of Cooper or Scott.

806

Once, when Jesse Lee was preaching, a portion of the congregation were dozing, while outside in the yard others were conversing so loudly as to annoy him. Pausing long enough for the silence to awaken the sleepers, he called in a loud voice, "I'll thank the people in the yard not to talk so loud, for they'll wake up the people in the house!"

Jesse Lee was a large man, weighing over two hundred pounds. His size gave rise to a rumor throughout New England that he rode two horses. When he appeared he had indeed two horses, but only one was ridden at a time.

An amusing incident occurred at Lynchburg, Va., in 1808. The streets were so muddy that he hesitated to step into the mire, which was nearly knee-deep. As he stood on the curb he was approached by John Charleston, a stout colored man, who was a preacher, and had been emancipated by the Rev. Stith Mead. John was a great admirer of Jesse Lee, and offered to "tote" him across on his back. Lee accepted the offer and mounted upon Charleston's broad back. Midway in the muddy street the negro paused to get a better hold upon his load. He was perspiring and groaning under the burden. He turned up the tail of his eye, caught Lee's glance, and said, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" As quick as a flash Lee replied, "You do groan, being burdened." To their mutual comfort they speedily reached the other side of the street.

Sometimes the droll side of things was illustrated in the persecutions which the Methodists suffered. Asa Kent gives a ludicrous instance. An important officer of the Standing Order in New England was the tithingman, who with his long rod presided over the congregation and kept order. The Methodists were temporarily occupying an old Congregational meetinghouse, but their method of worship was

considered disorderly because they said "Amen!" and "Glory to God!" A seeker after the office of tithingman intimated that, if he were elected, he would enforce discipline. He was elected, and when taking the oath of office asked the magistrate to give him definite instructions how to proceed.

- "Keep the people still during the time of worship," replied that functionary.
 - "But suppose they will not keep still?"
 - "Then rap them on the head!"

The next Sabbath day found him with his staff of office in the midst of the congregation. It happened to be a quarterly meeting, and a great throng had assembled. Bostwick was the presiding elder, and was a host in himself. Prayer found all the Methodists on their knees, but our officer stood up to keep his pledge of good order. The first brother who said "Amen!" got a rap on the head, and then all the others, each in turn. The "Amens," however, came so fast, and so many "Glories" were added, that he was kept busily at work. The people were so closely packed that he could not move, and those beyond the reach of his rod escaped punishment. Finally, prayer being over, he had to take his seat with the rest, and as there were so many who had become disorderly he was compelled to select one who was conspicuous by his vigorous responses. All unconscious of the law against shouting, with streaming eyes fixed upon the preacher, every now and then the offender would give vent to his emotions in a shout of "Glory!" Immediately he was poked in the ribs by the tithingman. This continued for some time, much to the annoyance of the members and to the mirth of the less reverent.

There was always one recourse of a persecuted Methodist

congregation—whether in the midst of mob violence or when their meetings were disturbed from within—they could pray for their persecutors. They now began to pray for the tithingman, whom they perceived to be their enemy. It was too much for him, and he beat a precipitate retreat.

There was something exceedingly droll in the broken utterances of the faithful but eccentric itinerant, Jacob Gruber. His German accent heightened the effect of his wit and often convulsed his assemblies with uncontrollable laughter. He was very eccentric and full of whims. He could not endure cats, dogs, tea, coffee, tobacco, canes, veils, or anything that looked like indulgence. They were evil, and only evil. His hatred of dogs amounted to a mania. He would chase them wherever he saw them, and there is a story that he once stopped a funeral procession and drove away some dogs that were following it.

At a certain place, at which Gruber was advertised to baptize some children, a young wit vowed he would have fun with the old man. He approached him and said, "Mr. Gruber, I have some pups here which I would like you to baptize." Much to his surprise, Gruber quietly replied, "All right, wait a bit." After he had performed the rite for the children he turned to the congregation and without a smile said, "If de parents of de pups will please come forward, I will baptize dem." It was too much for the wouldbe wag, and he departed.

At one place, where some of the women were frequently late at service, he said: "It is no wonder; they are doubly blinded: blinded by the god of this world, and then they had 'towels' before their faces. Poor creatures! how could they see?" His aversion to tobacco was well known. Once, while on Chester Circuit, a cigar was offered him, which he

indignantly refused, saying, "What do you stick your devil's firebrands at me for?" He was alike blunt and fearless. He once prayed for a preacher who had the ill grace to attack the Methodists: "O Lord, bless the preacher who has



FROM THE PAINTING BY DARLEY.

JOSHUA WELLS.

preached to us this morning, and grant to make his heart as soft as his head and then he'll do some good."

This was not more severe than the criticism of Joshua Wells upon a vain young preacher who desired to know his opinion of his sermon. His reply was, "It was like a mess of tadpoles, all heads and no tails."

A young minister who had acquired that disagreeble habit of adding "ah" to the ending of each sentence desired Gruber

to give him some advice about oratory. He received this laconic note:

"Dear-ah Brother-ah: When-ah you-ah go-ah to-ah preach-ah, take-ah care-ah you-ah don't-ah say-ah ah.

"Yours-ah,

"JACOB-AH GRUBER-AH."

At a camp meeting the presiding elder had in vain requested the people to be seated, saying, "The gentlemen will please take seats on the right and the ladies on the left." They still tarried. Father Gruber sprang to his feet and said, "Let me try!" He then said: "Presiding Elder, you called them gentlemen and ladies. They didn't know what you meant. Boys, come right along and take your seats

here! Gals, come along and take your seats there!" The oddity compelled obedience.

At another camp meeting there was difficulty in getting the people to sit, a number of ladies persisting in standing on the benches. Gruber said, "If that young lady standing on the bench knew what a great hole she has in her stocking, she would certainly sit down." All sat down immediately. Some one asked Gruber if he saw holes in their stockings. He replied:

- " No!"
- "How then could you say so?" He replied:
- "Did you ever know a stocking without a hole in it?"

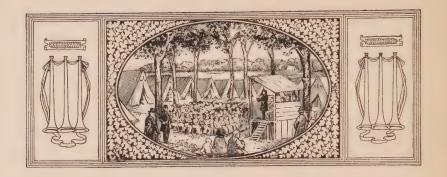
James Axley was another wit many of whose sayings had wide vogue. The most notable, perhaps, was his temperance sermon, which in the form of a parable pointed many lessons. He was once speaking on conformity to the world, and held a colloquy with an imaginary opponent. At length this supposed adversary said:

- "But, sir, some of your Methodist preachers themselves dress in fashionable style, and act like dandies."
- "O no, my friend, that cannot be. Methodist preachers know their calling better."
- "Well, sir, if you won't take my word for it, just look at those young preachers in the pulpit behind you." He then turned around, and, looking with surprise at two or three rather fashionably attired juniors, surveyed them from head to foot, while they quailed beneath his withering glance. Then turning again to the congregation, he leaned over the desk, and, with his arm extended and looking toward his supposed opponent, said in a subdued voice, "If you please, sir, we'll drop the subject."
 - "Billy" Barnes, as he was familiarly called, was a well-

known member of the Philadelphia Conference. He was an Irishman, with all the fire and wit of a native of Erin. Of his witty utterances there are many anecdotes current throughout Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. He had so comical an expression and was so fantastically clothed, wearing on his head a great wig and around his neck an immense collar, that the sight of him provoked mirth. His brogue and wit added to the ludicrous effect of his speech. He was an eloquent man, and some of his climaxes were terrific in denunciation.

Barnes was preaching at a camp meeting in Delaware. His theme was repentance, and he wound up in this style: "Now, ye ungrateful, wicked rebels, it's yer duty to repant. If ye don't repant, ye'll be damned. If ye won't repant, ye ought to be damned, and if I were in God Almighty's place, a ridin' on the Gospel locomotive on the salvation railroad, and ye were on the track, and wouldn't repant, I'd run over ye an' niver blow another whistle!" At another camp meeting he promised by God's help "he would blow the very heavens away from over the lying infidel's head, and by the airthquake of God Almighty's everlasting proclamations tear away the yawning ground from beneath his iniquitous feet and show him, to himself and the whole univarse, hairhung and breeze-shaken over the stormy lake of endless hell!" While Barnes was pastor in Wilmington a young brother was invited into the pulpit to pray, and as he was about concluding his petition Barnes pulled his sleeve and whispered, "Brother, don't forget the pope and the divel!" In his mind no prayer was complete unless mention were made of these.

It was during the same pastorate that he once set himself right with the congregation in the matter of wearing a wig. He thus addressed them on a Sunday morning before the sermon: "Braithren, I understand ther's some of ye that don't like it because I wear a wig. Now, I've made up my mind to wear it or not, just as the congregation says. Here I am; look at me. This is Billy Barnes with the wig. And this"—taking the wig off his bald head—"is Billy Barnes without the wig. Which will ye have?" The unanimous cry was "Brother Barnes with the wig!" There was no more criticism after that. These are but glimpses of humor whose full story no historian can describe.



CHAPTER LXXX

The Homiletical Battle-ax

CONTROVERSIES OF BRITISH METHODISM TRANSFERRED TO AMERICA.—EMORY'S DEFENSE OF OUR FATHERS.—PROTESTANTISM, IMMERSION, AND OTHER THEMES OF NEW TESTAMENT ANTAGONISM.—VANNEST AND HEDDING.—PHILLIPS' SATIRE ON ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.—BENEFITS OF THE CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY OF METHODISM.

ONTROVERSY is the inevitable accompaniment of great religious awakenings. Theological debate always follows in the wake of revivals. The apologists were close on the footprints of the apostles. The Reformation was an era of doctrinal strife, Luther being a veritable gladiator with his homiletical battle-ax. The advent of Arminianism, under the Wesleys, caused the renewal of the war of beliefs. Calvinism estranged Whitefield and Wesley, and the devout Toplady could write of the urbane John as "An Old Fox Tarred and Feathered." Even the seraphic John Fletcher was compelled to be the polemic and to fulminate in his Checks.

In America the fathers of Methodism were compelled to fight over again the battles of the Wesleyans. The freedom of the republic fostered independence of opinion and promoted discussion. Denominationalism and the voluntary

character of ecclesiastical organizations gave free scope to debate.

There were several bodies against which Methodism felt its duty was to turn its batteries of defense. In New England the Congregationalists and Baptists were strongly intrenched, and in the Middle States were the Presbyterians and Episcopalians. In the South these latter, with Baptists, were widely prevalent. Sometimes against one and then against another of these the itinerant tested the edge of his doctrinal sword. The problems which arose within the body of Methodism were also occasions of strenuous debate. From the days of O'Kelly questions of polity were aired on the floor of the General Conference. Their culmination was in the division of 1828, when the Methodist Protestant Church drew apart from the parent Church. John Emory's masterly Defense of Our Fathers was the preeminent product of the period, and it may safely be called the finest production of American Methodist controversy. The names of Nicholas Snethen, Asa Shinn, and Thomas E. Bond are honorably associated in the struggle. The greater problems of slavery, freemasonry, and the temperance question have had their part in the logical battles whereby the Church came to successive decisions.

But the controversial spirit of Methodism was most apparent in resisting attacks from without. The Standing Order, immersion, apostolic succession, and the trend of Calvinistic theology awakened the antagonism of the great body of Methodist preachers. The rigor of Calvinistic theology cannot be comprehended if measured by its present expression. Its greater humanity, its silence concerning the decrees—in fact, the entire revision of the relations of divine sovereignty and human freedom is a proof of the victory of

the Arminian over the ultra Calvinistic standpoint. We are, however, content to believe, with a modern exponent of that theology, that "Free Will and Divine Sovereignty are pillars of truth whose connecting arch is above the clouds."

Ionathan Edwards, Lyman Beecher, Emmons, the Tennents, and Finney are names to conjure with. Calvinistic doctrine everywhere met the itinerants, not only in the splendor of scholastic learning, when it enshrined itself in the school and college, but in the commonplaces of everyday life. Poor Billy Hibbard had his experience with fate. In his agonizing search for pardon he was on the verge of suicide because he feared "he had been doomed and damned from all eternity." He naively tells us how he had already hung the rope in the barn, and was about to swing off into eternity, when his brother came into the building and he crouched down to hide himself, meanwhile contemplating what he would say were he asked what he was doing in so strange a position. The lie which imagination suggested also caused him to feel his unfitness to stand before God and to postpone indefinitely his self-murder. His better frame of mind resulted, and in later days became a redoubtable champion of Free Will.

The itinerants were impelled to controversy by the conviction that Calvinism, universalism, and unitarian theology were obstacles to their evangelistic labors. Nathan Bangs, when on the Albany Circuit, found that all his efforts for revival were vain because of the prevalent belief in fore-ordination. The people believed that the final fate of souls was fixed, and unalterable by human conduct. "The effectual call" would come only "in God's good time," and could by no means be hastened. Bangs concluded he must

break up these prejudicial beliefs before he could move men to repentance. His success led to controversy, and he had to defend his faith in a public debate. It was held in the Congregational church in Durham, and covered the whole grounds of "the five points." The views which he thus advanced became the first of his published controversial works. The work was followed by his Errors of Hopkinsianism in 1815, and a few years later by Predestination Examined, and subsequently by his Reformer Reformed.

In the columns of The Christian Advocate he continued the battle. The Christian Spectator, together with other Calvinistic journals, began an energetic attack upon the doctrine and polity of Methodism. Bangs swung his editorial battle-ax with such effect that even his enemies admired his strength and skill.

So intense was the strife that the Methodists were attacked on the highways and forced into logical battle. Peter Vannest, when on his New England Circuit, was accosted by a man who came up in great haste and said:

"Are you a Methodist?"

He replied, "Yes, a poor one."

"Well," said the man, "I have been looking for one for some years."

Vannest asked him what he wanted with him.

He replied, "I want to make you ashamed of your erroneous principles."

- "What are they?" asked the preacher.
- "You hold to falling from grace, don't you?"
- "No, sir; I hold to getting grace and keeping it."
- "But," persisted the man, "you believe that people can fall from grace?"

"That's another thing. Angels fell, Adam fell, and St. Paul was afraid of being a castaway; if you do not believe the Bible, you are an infidel."

Said he, "I believe in degrees of falling; we may fall partly, but not finally."

Vannest then put the question, "Have you ever had grace?"

- "Yes."
- " "Have you any now?"
 - "To be sure, for I can't lose it."
 - "Now be honest: don't you get angry?"
 - "Yes, I do."
 - "Do you get drunk and swear?"
 - "Yes, I do."
- "What! You do these things? Why, you have no more religion than the devil. Sir, I allow two degrees of falling: the first is to fall from grace, as you have, if you ever had any; and if you do not repent and do your first works, the next fall will be into hell, to be miserable forever."

With that his adversary spurred his horse, and the preacher saw him no more.

Elijah Hedding was drawn into controversy with a settled clergyman of the established order. He was invited to dine with him, and was afterward asked to outline his creed. With frowning brow and dogmatic mien the aged man exclaimed, "These were the doctrines of John Wesley, and I have no doubt he is now in hell for teaching such abominable heresy!" Hedding then asked his companion to state his belief, whereupon he gave the Hopkinsian system in detail. Hedding said, "It appears that you believe God decrees and wills everything that comes to pass—even all the wicked conduct of sinful men." He admitted it was so.

"But," says Hedding, "God forbids that sinful conduct. He says, 'Thou shalt not steal,' with other commands. How do you make God's will and commands agree? Or, if he wills one thing and commands another, is not God divided against himself?"

Hedding then catechised him:

- "Will all of God's elect finally be saved?" Answer, "Yes."
 - "Will any others be saved besides God's elect?" "No."
- "Will all the elect be converted and pardoned while they remain in this world?" "Yes."
- "Are all of the elect convinced, before they are pardoned, that they are sinners, and in the way to hell?" "Yes."
- "Does the Holy Ghost convince them that they are in danger of going to hell?" "Yes."
 - "Does the Holy Ghost always teach truth?" "Yes."
- "Now, sir, let me put your answers together and see how they will read. You have said all the elect will be saved; none of them can possibly be lost; also that while they are in this world they are convinced they are in danger of going to hell. Now, how can they be in danger of going to hell if God has decreed they shall be saved and it is impossible for them to be lost?"
- "O, while they are under conviction they think they are in danger; but it is not so in fact."

Hedding said, "Hold! You told me the Holy Ghost teaches always the truth."

- "Well, after all, they are in danger."
- "Stop! You told me it was impossible for them to be lost, and how can a man be in danger of an impossibility?" Answer. "A man may be in danger of impossibilities sometimes."

"Very well," replied Hedding; "you believe that a man may be in danger of falling up to the clouds. Goodbye, sir."

In the West the followers of Alexander Campbell were numerous, and there were frequent tilts between them and the Methodists. They were sometimes called Campbellites, after their founder, and sometimes Christians. They held to immersion, and it was here they joined issue with the itinerants. William Phillips, the father of the late John M. Phillips, of the Methodist Book Concern, who was gifted with poetic genius and satire, wrote lines entitled Alexander the Great, or the Learned Camel. It evidences the bitterness of the days now happily passed. A few stanzas will suffice for our purpose:

In times of old, as books relate, Lived Alexander, called the Great, Who conquered Greece, and Persia too, And did the universe subdue; Made kings his slaves, and every nation Filled with blood and desolation. But Alexander, mounted on Bucephalus, and clothed upon With all the panoply of war, Was more diminutive by far, Compared to modern Alexander, Than is a gosling to a gander; For, reader, know, we have of late A second Alexander Great, A man of more deserved renown Than he who tumbled cities down: More great, more bold, and learned, too, Than e'er was Christian, Turk, or Jew. And should you doubt his fame or glory, Pray give attention to my story.

In three hundred lines which follow are given the tenets of Alexander Campbell, and at the close there is an oration supposed to be spoken by Mr. Campbell. These two stanzas indicate its vein:

Ho! every mother's son and daughter, Here's the Gospel in the water! Here's the ancient Gospel way, Here's the road to endless day, To the kingdom of the Saviour: You must enter in the river, Every mother's son and daughter, Here's the Gospel in the water!

All ye sons of Adam's race,
Come and share this watery grace!
Water is the healing lotion,
Vast as the Atlantic Ocean;
Water purifies the nation,
Water is regeneration.
Every mother's son and daughter,
Here's the Gospel in the water!

The author of the above was afterward assistant editor of the Western Christian Advocate, and published a serial in its columns, entitled Campbellism Exposed, which was afterward printed in book form.

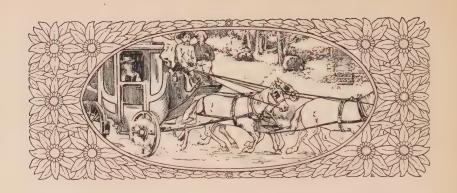
Methodism was criticised on every hand: her doctrine of Christian Perfection was ground of censure, while Wesley's right to ordain occasioned debate concerning apostolic succession and the validity of the ministerial ordination of the itinerants. The ready wit and profound common sense of the Methodist preachers enabled them to defend themselves successfully. They conquered chiefly, however, by sheer strength of character, by the moral miracles of transformed lives they were enabled to produce, and by the never-ending success of the great revivals over the land.

There was a twofold result of this homiletical warfare. First, Methodism awoke to its own theological self-consciousness. Its Articles of Religion, General Rules, Wesley's Sermons, and its Catechisms furnish the data for a creed which, however, has not yet been formulated. It was called upon to give definite statements of belief. The scholar in his book and the circuit rider in some backwoods debate were alike turned by necessity into theologians. Thus by degrees the characteristic points of Methodist doctrine came to consciousness in the mind of the Church. Free Will, a universal atonement, gracious ability, the witness of the Spirit, and possible apostasy were given their proper preeminence in the general Arminian theology bequeathed by John Wesley.

The other and no less important outcome was the influence of this theology on other communions. The camp meeting, the popular hymns, and the manifold instrumentalities of pulpit and press spread the knowledge of Methodist teachings from one end of the nation to the other.

When Jesse Lee on Boston Common sang of free salvation New England was startled. Methodism, together with the evangelical Baptists, did its full share in preventing the complete lapse of Congregationalism into Unitarianism. The fatalism which followed in the wake of a predestinarian theology was averted by the Wesleyan doctrine of Justification by Faith, and the harsh and cruel doctrines of unavoidable reprobation and infant damnation disappeared in the warm glow of a belief in a universal atonement. Stale theorizing about foreknowledge and foreordination passed away in the experience of a living Saviour. Curry justly says: "The ancient orthodoxy yielded to a better faith. It soon became manifest that the Saybrook and Cambridge platforms could not be maintained in their original forms. A change but little anticipated has come upon the men of this generation, of which an efficient cause is found in the labors of the early Methodist preachers."

The similarity of pulpit utterances in Calvinistic and in Arminian churches, which to-day is so usual as to awaken no comment, is a sign of progress, an indication that the Homiletical Battle-ax has seen its day and is destined to rust on the walls of the theological museum. Its best victory is that it is no longer needed. Who wielded it best let history say.



CHAPTER LXXXI

The Romance of Oregon

WINNING A GREAT EMPIRE.—SEEKING THE WHITE MAN'S BOOK OF HEAVEN.—WILBUR FISK'S APPEAL.—A CARAVAN ACROSS THE ROCKIES.

HEN Daniel Webster, who was at the time Secretary of State, was asked to interest himself in the acquisition of Oregon he replied: "What do we want with the vast worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts and of shifting sands and whirlwinds, of dust, of cactus, and prairie dogs? I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it is now." Senator Benton, in 1825, had expressed the common estimate of its worthlessness at that time when he declared the Rocky Mountains were "a convenient, natural, and everlasting boundary on our western border." England used every means to keep the people in America in ignorance of its arability and inhabitableness. The fur companies conducted a literary bureau for that purpose at St. Louis. Great Britain—as later events proved—had no claim to the land, but her policy was to resist American right to the territory.

The United States based its claim upon the Louisiana Pur-

chase, which was held to extend over the Rockies to the Pacific. The second ground of American control was the discovery of the region by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, who in 1772, in his good ship Columbia, sailed up the great river which has henceforth borne the name of the first white man's ship that ever plowed up the broad current. Vancouver. who had been looking for the river and failed, met him on the high seas, and Gray told him of his discovery. Vancouver immediately ascended it beyond where Gray had stopped, and on Vancouver's survey England based another ground for a claim of sovereignty over it. Astoria, which the genius of John Jacob Astor had founded, and which the pen of Irving has immortalized, had fallen into British hands as a consequence of the war of 1812. The actual occupancy of the country was in the hands of the Hudson Bay Company, and seemed likely to continue so indefinitely. In 1818 a treaty was made between the United States and England for their joint occupancy of the country, and ten years later it was reenacted. The Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 was altogether in favor of English interests, the United States even agreeing to pay for all valuations upon Hudson Bay Company's property south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. There was an exchange of territory in prospect by which the Newfoundland fisheries should be given for the Oregon country.

But an event had taken place, wholly unlooked for by the world, which was to win Oregon to the United States and thus greatly enrich the public domain. This was the arrival of Daniel Lee, Jason Lee, Lyons Shepard, and P. L. Edwards, two ministers and two laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who followed the Oregon Trail as missionaries to the Flathead Indians of Oregon. Marcus Whitman, who repre-

sented the American Board, followed these heroes two years later and became an important factor in the evangelization of the Oregon region and its later possession by the United States. The Oregon country included, besides the State of that name, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and



THE FIRST OREGON APPLE TREE.

Montana. Providence sent these heroes none too soon, for the war with Mexico soon followed. The region which our statesmen spurned as worthless has had a marvelous growth. In 1850, shortly after the events to be narrated, there were in the whole region but 13,294 souls. In 1890, just forty years later, Washington numbered 349,390;

Oregon, 313,767; Idaho, 84,000, and the other territory, 65,862; a total population of 813,404. There were, besides, 75,000 Indians. That unpromising region, which in Webster's unstatesmanlike estimate was not worth a penny from the public treasury, has furnished a taxable basis of many millions of dollars. The total in 1893 was \$481,400,000. The products of Oregon alone that year were valued at \$245, 100,267. He who would read a modern romance should learn how Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman saved Oregon.

The beginning of missionary enterprise in the region is

one of the most interesting in the history of the Christian Church. In the year 1832 the people of St. Louis beheld the strange spectacle of four Flathead Indians, in their odd dress, parading their principal streets. Impelled by some strange desire, they had traveled the entire summer and fall, over two thousand miles, to hunt for the "White Man's Book of Heaven" and to ask for teachers to be sent to them. It seemed as if the Spirit which had inspired the kings of the East to seek the Babe of Bethlehem had urged these red men of the wilderness to seek him once again in the "White Man's Book of Heaven."

General Clarke, the commandant of the military post there, a man of experience in Indian affairs, was acquainted with their tongue. To him they made known their request. It was novel to him, emanating as it did from these children of the wilderness. He was a devout Roman Catholic, and treated the Indians hospitably and kept them through the winter. Two of them died meanwhile. A banquet was given them, on the evening before their return, at which one of the Indians made an address full of the weird eloquence peculiar to the race. He said:

I come to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friends of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with an eye partly open for my people, who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms through many enemies and strange lands that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. Two fathers came with us. They were the braves of many winters and wars. We leave them asleep here by your great water and wigwams. They were tired in many moons, and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the "White Man's Book of Heaven." You took me to where you allow your women to dance as we do not ours, and the book was not there. You took me to where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, but the book was not there. You showed me the images of the good spirits and pictures of the good land beyond, but the book was not among them to tell us the way. I am going back, the long trail, to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy

with gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, yet the book is not among them. When I tell my poor blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go a long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them, and no White Man's Book will make the way plain. I have no more words.

Then Hee-ohks-te-kin and Hco-a-hco-a-hcotes-min, the



PHOTOGRAPH BY CRONISE.

GRAVES OF THE OREGON PIONEERS OF 1834.

In Lee Mission Cemetery, Salem, Ore.

Nez Percés chiefs, departed. The former, only, lived to reach his people, his comrade dying on the way.

The heart of Wilbur Fisk was stirred by the story, and he blew a clarion blast in an appeal through the columns of The Christian Advocate in March, 1833. "Who," he cried, "will respond, to go beyond the Rocky Mountains and carry the Book of Heaven?" This Macedonian cry for help aroused the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to attempt the establishment of a mission among the Flathead Indians, and \$3,000 was appropriated toward that object.

Jason Lee, and some time later Daniel Lee, his nephew, volunteered and were accepted. They were both natives of Stanstead, Canada.

Jason Lee united with the New England Conference in 1833 and was ordained deacon and elder. Daniel, who was already a member of the New England Conference, was



FORT VANCOUVER.

Jason Lee preached in the stockade on the right of the drawing.

ordained elder at the Baltimore Conference in 1834. Captain Nathaniel Wyeth, who had already led an expedition into Oregon, and was preparing to take an expedition across the Rockies in the following spring, now providentially appeared. His company was to send a vessel, the May Dacre, to the Columbia River, thus affording transportation for the missionary outfit. Lee and his companions embarked at Pittsburg and arrived at St. Louis, where the necessary mountain outfit was sent up the Missouri, under Cyrus Shepard, of Lynn, Mass., who was an attaché of the expedition. At Independence P. L. Edwards was added to the mis-

sionary corps, which now numbered four persons. On April 28, 1834, the caravan started toward the West. There were in all fifty or sixty men, all armed and mounted. After a journey of eighty-eight days they reached Fort Walla-Walla. The May Dacre had already arrived, and while part of the missionary force went to secure their property the two Lees sought the Willamette valley for a location for the mission.

The original idea of settling among the Flatheads was found to be impracticable, owing to their remoteness, the smallness of the tribe, and their proximity to the hostile Blackfoot. As they conceived their purpose was to benefit more than a single tribe they concluded to locate on the Willamette, because of its fertility and, especially, of its central location. And now forests were felled, fences, houses, barns were erected, crops were planted, and on Sabbath the sound of praise broke the solitude. The division of work at first was that Shepard taught a school at Vancouver and the two Lees and Edwards opened the mission in the Willamette valley. The services were held in the house of one Gervais until 1837, when the mission house was ready. A school was also opened at the house of Gervais, where Solomon H. Smith, of Boston, who had come out with Captain Wyeth in 1832, was tutor.

Thus Christianity began the great work of civilization in the far Northwest. The first recorded instance of the conversion of a white man in Oregon occurred in January, 1837. Webley Hawxhurst, a native of Long Island, called at the mission house and passed the night. It was the evening of the class meeting, and his attention was arrested by the children at prayer. "I am thankful," he wrote, "that my business led me to your house. I learned more in that week than in thirty-one years before. When I saw the Indian

children praying and worshiping God I thought it was high time for me—who had been thirty-one years in sin, without even praying for my own soul. I expected you to speak to me, and what could I say? I felt like a person lost forever." He soon found peace. Thus was begun the great work which has grown into strong Conferences with thousands of mem-



THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

Built at "the Falls Settlement" (Oregon City), 1844.

bers. In 1837 reinforcement reached the mission, and in 1838 a new station was established at the Dalles. In the last days of the year a revival began among both the whites and the Indians. At the Dalles, during 1839–40, there was a great turning of the red men to God. Meetings continued day and night in many villages and more than half the Indians were converted.

While the missionaries found a few hunters and trappers in Oregon, and twenty thousand Indians, yet with prophetic vision they saw that the white men must sooner or later supplant the Indians; they therefore prepared for the future. They preached as usual among the various tribes at Nesqually, on Puget Sound, at the mouth of the Columbia River, as well as at the Dalles and Willamette. But it was not among the Clatsops, Killemooks, Chinooks, or Walla-Wallas that the firm foundations of Methodism were to be laid, but



THE OREGON INSTITUTE.

Founded by Jason Lee as an Indian manual labor school, was transferred to the trustees of the Oregon Institute, 1844. The pioneer educational institute of the Northwest.

among the whites. Marcus Whitman shortly brought in a great body of settlers, and thus opened the way for larger immigration. Education was the key to the situation, and in 1841 the Oregon Institute, for the education of the youth of Oregon, was begun. It was the foundation of a great educational work destined to bless all future ages. The first Methodist Episcopal Society in Oregon was organized in 1841, with thirteen members. Now in the Pacific Northwest we have thirty thousand members.



The rational parameter of the control of the contro

Rev. William Nast, D.D.
"THE FATHER OF GERMAN METHODISM."
From the copperflate in the Ladies' Repository.

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CHAPTER LXXXII

Friends from the Fatherland

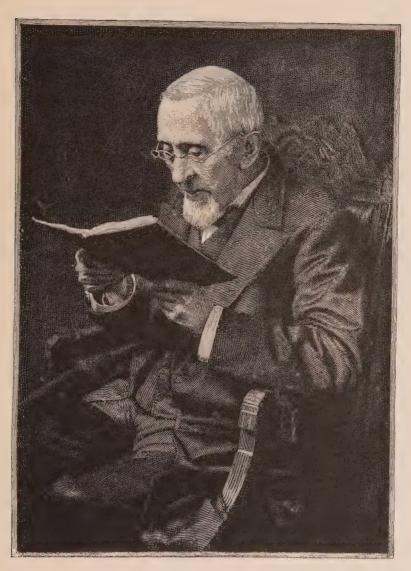
WILHELM NAST, THE GERMAN,—HIS STUDENT LIFE.—INFLUENCE OF BAUR AND STRAUSS.—NAST IN AMERICA.—BECOMES A METHODIST AND A MISSIONARY.—ADAM MILLER AND OTHERS.—GERMAN FRIENDS,—GERMAN MISSIONS AND LITERATURE.—CHRISTLICHE APOLOGETE.—JACOBY.—GERMAN CONFERENCE.—RESULTS.

Nast, a man inseparably connected with the history of Methodism in America. His early training and subsequent studies furnished him with the special equipment needed for the work to which he was providentially called. His parents were experimental Christians, and died in the triumphs of faith. His sisters married distinguished Lutheran ministers. He himself was confirmed in the Lutheran Church at fourteen. The solemn obligations of Church membership produced in him a serious impression. In time his heart underwent a thorough change. He resolved to become a missionary to the heathen and would have entered the Missionary Institute in Basel, but he was persuaded by his kindred—possibly by his clerical brothers-in-law—to become a student at the theological seminary in Blaubeuren.

At Blaubeuren four years were given to a critical study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. His advantages here were great,

but his risks were greater. Rationalistic professors "held up before the young student the nectar and ambrosia of pagan literature while they sedulously stripped the Hebrew Scriptures of their Messianic truth," and well-nigh destroyed Nast's Christian faith. From Blaubeuren he went to the University of Tübingen. Here two men exerted a powerful influence over his mind—Ferdinand Christian Baur and David Friedrich Strauss. Baur had been Nast's Latin and Greek professor at Blaubeuren, and both went to Tübingen at about the same time. Baur was learned, enthusiastic, attractive, and magnetic. The studies of New Testament times by a critical and impartial method dates from Baur, but his elimination of the supernatural and miraculous elements was a fatal pitfall for the already faltering Nast.

Strauss was about one year older than Nast. Both were natives of the same dear old Wurtemberg. The author of the Mythical Theory did not fail, in the freedom of university fellowship, to weave around Nast's mind a dangerous web from which in after years he was scarcely able to extricate himself. Like Strauss, he forsook the study of theology for that of philosophy. In 1828 he emigrated to the United States. He purposed "to devote his life to art, science, and belles-lettres." Soon after reaching New York his course turned once more toward the haven of a restful faith and devout service. At the residence of a Methodist lady of wealth and refinement, in whose family he was employed as tutor, he came for the first time in contact with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this delightful home, which was a regular preaching place of Methodist ministers, observing their simple faith and earnest zeal, he was reminded of what he might have been and should have been, and he was, as Dryden says, "forced to make an introspection of



William Nast.



his own mind." He next became librarian and teacher of German at the United States Military Academy, at West Point. Acquaintance with two godly young officers, who were his private scholars in Hebrew, led him to renew evangelical religious reading. He attended Methodist services and was deeply moved by the preaching of the Rev. James H. Romer. A sermon by Wilbur Fisk increased his eagerness for salvation. Nast accepted a call to teach languages at the Lutheran College, in Gettysburg. His mental distress increased. He continued his association with Methodist people. By invitation of Bishop McIlvaine, whose friendship was warm and strong, he went to Kenyon College, Gambier, O., to teach German and Hebrew in that institution of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the winter of 1833-34, at the suggestion of the Rev. Adam Miller, he translated into German the Articles of Religion and the General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After desperate struggles, on January 17, 1835, he found great joy in believing in Christ. Two weeks afterward he was licensed to preach, and the next autumn he was received as a probationer into the Ohio Conference and appointed German missionary in the city of Cincinnati.

In 1833 a mission to the Germans in Cincinnati had been urged by the Western book agents and in the following year Bishop Emory published a call for a German-speaking minister to begin it. The Rev. Adam Miller, converted in 1827, and other preachers of German birth, evinced considerable concern for the work. At first they were hampered by the fact that they had to a large extent forsaken the German for the English tongue; even Nast himself had become slow of speech in his native tongue. Nevertheless the undertaking was enthusiastically promoted.

Arriving in Cincinnati on September 15, 1835, Nast inaugurated his mission. He preached in Methodist churches, in rented halls, in private houses, on the streets and in public squares, sometimes in front of the much-frequented beer gardens. Insulting words and dangerous missiles were hurled at him. He was, however, incessant in his



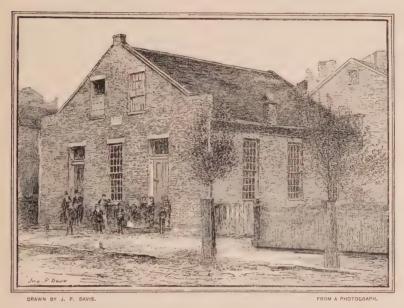




JOHN SCHWAHLEN.

private intercourse with the people. "Three clear conversions" was his report as the result of the first year's work. John Schwahlen, one of the three, afterward became an earnest and successful Methodist preacher. Several others had been brought under Nast's personal care. The class which was formed was frequently interrupted by the threats of bitter enemies who intimidated the householders under whose roofs the meetings were held.

Cincinnati soon became a center around which a circuit of preaching appointments was arranged in order to reach the many thousands of thrifty and intelligent resident Germans. In 1836 Nast was put in charge of a large circuit about Columbus, O., but in 1837 he was returned to Cincinnati. Greater success followed. A society of twenty-six was gathered. Miller and Schwahlen assisted him. Schwahlen,



GERMAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHEELING, W. VA.
This brick church, the first erected by German Methodists, was built in 1839.

however, on being licensed to preach in 1839, was sent to Wheeling, W. Va., where in one year he received eighty-three members and built the first German Methodist Episcopal church ever erected.

In 1837 Nast made a beginning in German Methodist literature by the publication of the Articles of Religion, the General Rules, and the old Wesleyan Catechism. The first

week in 1839 Der Christliche Apologete was begun, under his editorial management. He was eminently fitted by superior education, calm judgment, and Christian graces for the work assigned him. Henceforth with his pen he wielded a wonderful influence in the religious world.

Peter Schmucker, a Lutheran minister who had recently attached himself to the Methodist Episcopal Church and had become a devoted coworker with Nast, succeeded the latter as missionary at Cincinnati.

C. H. Doering, who came to America in 1830, was converted through Methodist influences, was called to preach, and entered Allegheny College for preparation for ministerial service. He left the academic halls before the completion of his studies, so pressing were the needs of the cause among the Germans. He at once commenced to preach in Pittsburg. In the fall of 1839 the Rev. J. Kisling was sent to Lawrenceburg, Ind., where he took charge of and extended the work begun there by Nast, who, in conjunction with his editorial labors, had continued to preach as opportunity offered. Upon the occasion of a visit to Pittsburg in 1838 Nast received Englehardt Riemenschneider into the Church, who, after successful service in this country, went to Germany to assist in the establishment of Methodist Episcopal missions there.

Adam Miller, Peter Schmucker, H. Koeneke, and J. Geyer, amid and in spite of virulent persecution, had marvelous success. One of the most notable events in German ecclesiastical life in America in 1839 was the conversion of Ludwig S. Jacoby. He was twenty-six years old, having been born in Strelitz, Mechlenburg, Germany, on October 21, 1813. His father was a Levite and his mother was of the priestly line. He became a Lutheran four years before he came to



HENRY KOENEKE.

America, and located in Cincinnati to take up the practice of medicine. Nast's Christmas sermon awakened him, and he was converted at the watch night service, on December 31, 1839, and at once became a preacher. In 1841 he opened the first German mission in St. Louis, and in 1849 returned to Germany, where he began to preach in Bremen. He gave twenty-two years of successful

labor to this work, and then returned to America, only, however, to soon succumb to weariness and disease.

The German missions in America spread rapidly north, south, east, and west; wherever only a few Germans could be found the evangelical fire spread, either through the labors of a regularly appointed minister or the spontaneous testimony of converts. By the year 1844 so considerable had been the expansion of the cause that the General Conference ordered that the



LUDWIG S. JACOBY, D.D.

missions "within the bounds of the Conference where they were most numerous" be formed into districts. In 1847, after a history of ten years, the results were: 6 districts, 62 missions, 75 missionaries, 4,385 members, 75 Sunday schools, 383 teachers, 2,200 scholars, 56 churches, and 19 parsonages. These missions for the first time were repre-

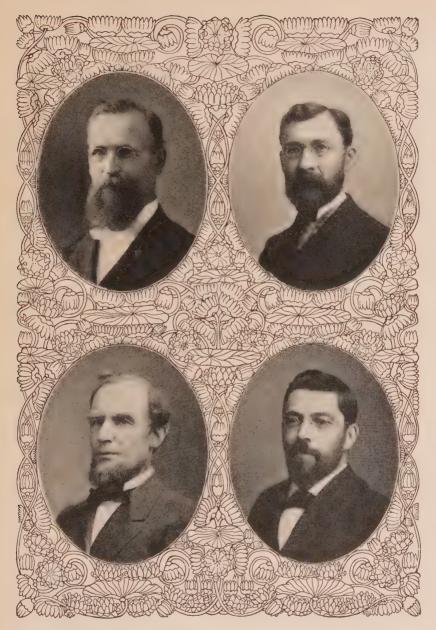


JACOB ROTHWEILER, D.D.

sented in the General Conference of 1848 by Nast and Jacoby. The General Conference of 1864 granted the request for separate German Annual Conferences, to be denominated the Northwest, the Southwest, and the Central German Conferences, and embracing all the German field except that in New York.

The Central German Conference was organized on August 4, 1864, by Bishop Morris, at Cincinnati; the North-

west Conference on September 7, 1864, by Bishop Scott, at Galena; and the Southwest Conference on September 29, 1864, by Bishop Janes, at St. Louis. In 1866 the East German Conference was organized in New York by Bishop Janes. Other Conferences have from time to time been organized, as new work and the enlargement of old required.



FRANZ L. NAGLER, D.D. German secretary of the Sunday School Union.

HENRY LEIBHART, D.D.

German secretary of the Sunday School Union.

ALBERT J. NAST, D.D. Editor of Der Christliche Apologete.

FRIEDRICH MUNZ, D.D. German secretary of the Sunday School Union.



There are now (1901) ten German Conferences in the United States, reporting 62,756 lay members and probationers, 1,253 Sunday schools, 56,683 Sunday school scholars, and \$4,255,290 worth of church property. For the year



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

GERMAN METHODIST ORPHAN HOME, BEREA, O.

ending October 31, 1900, the Missionary Society appropriated \$41,500 in these German Conferences; but they in turn during the same year had contributed \$39,503 to the Missionary Society. Six of the ten Conferences gave to the Missionary Society more than they received from it.

The various connectional benevolent societies of the Church,

which have had a creditable share in the development of the German field in this country, receive the loyal and liberal support of these German Conferences.

The German literature issued by the Methodist Book Concern has become extensive. Der Christliche Apologete, Sunday school papers and libraries, theological and miscellaneous works, and tracts and pamphlets comprise a litera-

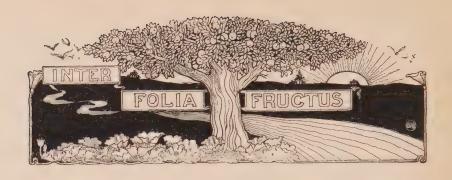


GERMAN DEACONESS "MOTHER HOUSE" AND BETHESDA HOSPITAL, CINCINNATI.

ture which is a strong ally of the pulpit and Sunday school in spreading scriptural holiness among the German-Americans and saving them from infidelity and immorality. In 1864 a German Methodist orphan asylum was founded at Berea, O., within the limits of the Central German Conference. It is supported by several German Conferences. During its history five hundred children have been tenderly protected and trained within its walls. The property is valued at \$70,000, and is clear of debt.

The deaconess work in the German Conferences is highly

cherished. The Mother House, located at Cincinnati, was opened on March 1, 1896. Under its control there is the Bethesda Hospital, and there are branches at Terre Haute, Ind., Milwaukee and La Crosse, Wis. Other German deaconess homes are at Brooklyn, N. Y., Louisville, Ky., and Chicago, Ill.



CHAPTER LXXXIII

The Sons of Ethiopia

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—TROUBLE AT ST. GEORGE'S.—"BETHEL."—SECESSION AND ORGANIZATION.—GROWTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR.—THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH.—STILLWELL'S SECESSION.—THE "ZIONITES" INDEPENDENT.

HE African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Philadelphia in April, 1816. The original cause of its separate existence was a difficulty which arose in St. George's Church, Philadelphia, in 1786, about the assignment of seats to the colored members. Being dissatisfied with the results of the dispute, the colored members left the church and, in 1787, joined by other colored members of the Methodist Church, formed a separate association. A place of worship was secured, and it was dedicated in 1794 by Bishop Asbury. A platform was adopted, the church was called "Bethel," and the body was placed under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Richard Allen, the leading pastor, was ordained by Bishop Asbury in 1799. He was the first colored minister so ordained in the United States. The church remained associated with St. George's until 1815.

Increasing difficulties, however, seemed to demand separa-

tion, and in 1816, in response to a general invitation, a convention consisting of seventeen delegates, from Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Jersey, and Delaware, was held, beginning on April 9. Stephen Hill, a layman from Baltimore, was the leading mind. Rev. Richard Allen and Rev. Daniel



RICHARD ALLEN.

A founder and bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church,

Coker were also prominent in counsel. Part of their platform was a declaration of strong sentiments relative to the causes of the disputes which had separated them from their "white brethren:" "Whereas from time to time many inconveniences have arisen from white people and people of color mixing together in places of public assemblies, more particularly in places of public worship, we have thought it necessary to provide for ourselves a convenient house to assemble in separate from our white brethren: I. To obviate any offense our mixing with our white brethren might give them. 2. To preserve as much as possible from the crafty wiles of the enemy our weak-minded brethren from taking offense at such partiality as they might be led to think contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, in which there is neither male nor female, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus."

Daniel Coker was elected bishop. He resigned the following day, whereupon Allen was elected, and on April 11 was consecrated by Rev. Absalom Jones, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and four other ordained ministers. Bishop Richard Allen was fifty-six years old when chosen bishop, and had been a Methodist since his seventeenth year. At the age of twenty-two he became a local preacher, and was from the beginning active in the movement which led to the organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He died on March 26, 1831. He was a man of great energy and sound judgment, yet of meager education.

The name "African Methodist Episcopal Church" was agreed upon, and the Methodist Episcopal Church Discipline, Articles of Religion, and General Rules were adopted, as also the itinerant system, except the presiding eldership. The government of the Church is modeled after the Methodist Episcopal Church. The General Conference, held quadrennially, is composed of traveling preachers of two years' standing and of local preachers delegated by the Annual Conference in the ratio of one to every five traveling preachers. The Annual Conference consists of all the trav-

eling preachers in full connection, and of local preachers who have met certain prescribed conditions of time and literary qualifications.

The work of the new Church was chiefly confined to the Northern States and the border slave States. A church organized in 1817 in Charleston, S. C., had a large membership, but was suppressed by the city authorities. The principles of the denomination were believed to be antagonistic to the

best interests of both white and colored, under existing circumstances in the South.

In 1826, ten years after the organization of the Church, there were 2 Conferences, 17 itinerant preachers, and 7,937 members. The next ten years did not, however, result in as great a proportionate growth, there being reported 4 Conferences, 27 itinerants, but only 7,594 members. In 1846, two years after the great division in the Methodist Episcopal



MORRIS BROWN.

Second bishop of the African Methodist

Episcopal Church, 1828 1850.

Church, there was reported a much greater growth in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, there being 6 Conferences, 67 pastors, and 16,190 members. Since that date the growth has been steady and strong. The emancipation of the slaves, the civil war, and the subsequent disposition on the part of a large proportion of the colored Methodist population to form their own combinations for religious and other work have added to the membership of this Church in the South. Many of the former members of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church in the South availed themselves of their opportunity and united with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The ministers have been noted for their zeal and their bishops for wise leadership. Within one year after the close of the civil war there were 10 Annual Conferences, 185 pastors, and 50,000 members. In 1876 there were 212,000 members.

In 1900 there were reported 5,245 ministers, 5,671 churches,



EDWARD WATERS.

Third bishop of the African Methodist
Episcopal Church, 1836-1847.

and 641,727 members. This is the largest Protestant denomination of colored people in the world. It owns and conducts with ability a publishing house in Philadelphia, and has a weekly paper, the Christian Recorder, which is an efficient agent in raising the religious and intellectual tone of the Church. The other periodicals are the Review and the Missionary Record.

Wilberforce University, situated near Xenia, O., is under the patronage and control of this

Church. The original building, purchased in 1863 from the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was destroyed by fire; but a new structure was erected with funds collected by Bishop Payne in the United States and England.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, as a separate organization, dates from 1820, when a large congregation of colored Methodists in New York, known as Zion Church, seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in con-

junction with a few other congregations formed a distinct denominational organization. It inserted "Zion" in its name in memory of the principal church forming the combination. Zion congregation had been in existence since 1796, and had built a church in 1800. It had been loval to the Methodist Episcopal Church until James L. Stillwell. who had been pastor of the old John Street Church, in New York city, created dissensions in the Church and seceded. The reason Stillwell assigned for his secession was that "the New York Conference desired more definite legal action to secure the property of the Church from being lost in case of secession." Through his influence the Zion congregation seceded, believing his assertion that "their religious liberties were in danger." He was invited by them to preach the first sermon in their new church, which they were erecting. They soon after declared their independence of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Stillwell's career was disappointing to himself and his followers. He induced about three hundred members of the Methodist Episcopal Church to secede with him, some of them being local preachers and persons well and favorably known for many years in the Church. Endeavors were made to create dissension in other parts of the country, but with meager success. A few congregations were formed and associated together, but after a few years of disappointing endeavor to forward the reform enterprise a large portion of the seceding congregation returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Stillwell's own congregation became a Congregational Church. A few others who had joined him united with the Methodist Protestant Church when it arose, with its reform movement. No trace of Stillwell's movement remains to-day.

Bishop Allen, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, tried to induce the "Zionites" to unite with his Church, but failed. The Zion congregation sent messengers to induce other colored congregations in other cities to join with them, and an association was formed called "The African Methodist Episcopal Church in America." Not desiring, however, to be wholly independent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, they proposed that they be organized into a separate Annual



WILLIAM PAUL QUINN,
Fourth bishop of the African Methodist
Episcopal Church, 1844-1873.

Conference. They requested Bishop McKendree to preside over their Conference. The Philadelphia Conference advised it; but the New York Conference disapproved it on the ground that the organization of an Annual Conference must be effected by the General Conference.

The "Zionites" held their Conference on June 21, 1821. Joshua Soule, afterward bishop, and Dr. William Phæbus were present by invitation. One of

the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church was chosen to preside, but he not being present, Dr. Phœbus presided, and Joshua Soule acted as secretary. Freeborn Garrettson was present, and expressed the belief that an African Conference would be organized by the next General Conference, in 1824.

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church were invited to preside at the second Conference in Philadelphia, in 1822, but they declined on the ground that they could not act officially. Bishops Roberts and George, however, visited

them and urged them to delay any further steps toward separate organization until the General Conference should meet; but on account of defections from their ranks to the African Methodist Episcopal Church it was decided to organize at once lest further secessions should ensue.

The organization was completed in New York city in July, 1822, when several local preachers were elected elders and ordained by Mr. Stillwell, assisted by two other elders who

had seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church. They began with 22 ministers and 1,426 members. James Varick was their first bishop, elected in 1822 and reelected in 1826. In 1838 he was succeeded by Christopher Rush.

The early history of the Church was not marked with distinguished success. Twenty-five years after its organization it reported only 5,000 members, 75 traveling ministers, and 50 church edifices, although there



WILLIS NAZREY.

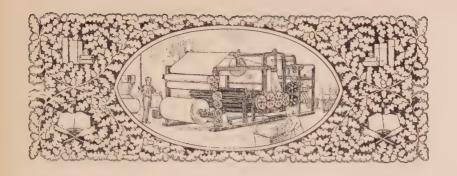
Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1852-1864, and of the British Methodist Episcopal Church, 1864-1875.

were other congregations without buildings of their own. In 1864 its General Conference passed resolutions favoring organic union with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, but the desired union was not consummated.

During the civil war and at its close ministers of the Zion Church organized societies in the South, and thereby the Church grew considerably. In 1876 there were 7 bishops, 17 Annual Conferences, 1,200 traveling preachers, 150,000 members. In 1900 there were nearly 700,000 members and

5,245 traveling preachers. The Church has made some commendable progress in its educational and publishing enterprises.

The doctrines of the Church are the same as those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its highest officers are general superintendents or bishops elected quadrennially by the General Conference, subject to reelection. The General Conference is composed of all the traveling preachers of the connection. The general government of the Church is in other particulars similar to that of the Methodist Episcopal Church.



CHAPTER LXXXIV

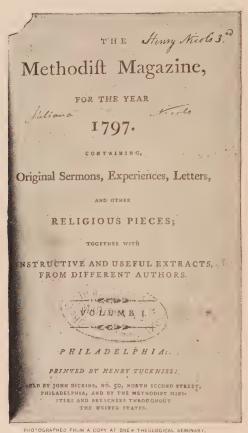
Editorial Leaders

THE PERIODICAL PRESS.—CHAMPIONS OF THE QUILL.—THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.—ZION'S HERALD.—METHODIST REVIEW.—OTHER ORGANS.—THE INDEPENDENT PRESS.

MONG the chief forces contributing to the growth of Methodism and the spread of its benevolent influences has been its periodical literature. As soon as its people became persuaded that it could safely venture on the employment of the printing press there was no lack of courage and enterprise. The success of Wesley's Arminian Magazine in England induced the American Church to issue a similar publication. The Methodist Magazine was ordered by the Conference of 1796. But it was not successful, and was published for only two years. It was again attempted in 1818. Its name was afterward changed to the Methodist Quarterly Review, but again was changed to the Methodist Review. It is now a bimonthly magazine of great worth and influence.

To the Rev. William Beauchamp, however, belongs the honor of being the editor of the first successful American Methodist periodical, the Western Christian Monitor, a monthly paper of forty-eight pages, octavo. It was begun in 857

order to defend the doctrine of the Trinity and other teachings of evangelical Christianity which were being violently attacked in the West. Its articles comprised essays and short



THE METHODIST MAGAZINE.

Ordered by the General Conference, 1796, and issued 1797, 1798.

papers on religious subjects, with selections of poetry and other literary matter. Beauchamp was a man of more than common ability. He was born in Delaware, on April 26, 1772, united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1788, began preaching in 1791, entered the travveling connection in 1793, and was stationed in New York and Boston until 1801, when impaired health compelled him to locate. In 1807 he settled in Virginia, but in 1815 removed to Chillicothe, O., and there began his editorial career.

The Monitor, however, antedated both the Methodist Magazine and the Advocate. When it was decided to begin the Methodist Magazine he, in 1817, resigned his editorship and removed to Mount Carmel, Ill., where "he founded a

settlement in which he was pastor, teacher, lawyer, and engineer." Upon regaining his health, in 1822, he reentered the pastorate and in 1823 was presiding elder of the Indiana District, which embraced nearly the whole State. In 1824 he was a member of the General Conference, and lacked only two votes of being elected to the episcopacy. His death occurred at Paoli, Orange County, Ind., on October 7, 1824. He was a forcible and sometimes eloquent preacher, diligent student, a master of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and a clear and energetic writer. He wrote The Truth of the Christian Religion, and at his death left letters in manuscript on the itinerancy, which were published, accompanied by a biography written by Bishop Soule. His other works were a volume on the Eternal Sonship, an Essay on Salvation, an Essay on the Divine Law, and an English Grammar.

The Methodist Magazine appeared in 1797 and 1798, but John Dickins, upon whom the burden of publication devolved, having been stricken with yellow fever, the publication was reluctantly discontinued. The General Conference of 1816 authorized the publication of the Methodist Missionary Magazine, which was begun in 1818. The word "Missionary," however, for some unknown reason, was dropped. It was the only periodical controlled by the Church until the establishment of the Christian Advocate, in 1826.

In 1815 the New England Missionary Magazine was published at Concord, N. H., by Isaac Hill, Martin Ruter being the editor. But its life was short, four quarterly numbers only being issued.

In 1821 the Society for Giving and Receiving Religious Intelligence was organized by the New England Conference, and through its agency, in 1823, Zion's Herald was published at Boston. The printing was done by Moore and Prouse

under the direction of a committee of the society, of which Elijah Hedding was president. This was three years before Hedding was elected to the episcopacy. On September 30, 1825, the Wesleyan Journal was begun in Charleston, S. C.,

> and a little later in that year the Religious Messenger was begun in Philadelphia, Pa. On September 9, 1826, the first number of the Christian Advocate was issued at New York, On March 30, 1827, the Wesleyan Journal was sold to the Book Concern, and the name of the Advocate changed to Christian Advocate and Journal. When in August, 1828, the Zion's Herald was

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THE FIRST NUMBER OF ZION'S HERALD.

sold to the Book Concern the young Advocate had another addition made to its name, and it was called the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald. Notwithstanding its voluminous nomenclature the paper survived.

The first form of the Christian Advocate was small. The

imprint on the first number—"Published by N. Bangs and J. Emory for the Methodist Episcopal Church, B. Badger, Late Editor of the Zion's Herald, Editor"—does not tell the whole story. The paper was not published by authority of the Gen-

eral Conference, and it is believed that Nathan Bangs was the real editor. Mr. Badger was a practical business man, his experience in connection with the Zion's Herald being utilized to start this newspaper. The paper was "Printed at the Conference Office, No. 13 Crosby Street, near Broadway and Howard Str. A. Hoyt, Printer." The public is informed that "The Advocate will be



THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.

published every Saturday on an imperial sheet, at two dollars a year, if paid in advance, or \$2.50 if paid within six months. No subscription will be considered as paid in advance unless the amount be offered by the subscriber, without waiting to be called on for it."

Preachers, as now, were the authorized agents to procure subscriptions, for which valuable premiums were offered: a copy gratis for "six responsible annual subscribers," a proportionate advance on the price of the preacher's own subscription for less than six, and a gift of books for over six



SAMUEL LUCKEY.
Editor Christian Advocate, 1836-1840.

subscribers. This allowance is avowedly made with the view of aiding the preachers, particularly in procuring books, and in supporting themselves and families, while they are spreading useful knowledge and "going about doing good."

The General Conference of 1828 adopted the Christian Advocate and elected Nathan

Bangs editor and book steward. Bangs was one of the most influential personages in Methodist history. He did more than any other man to lay the foundation of a Methodist periodical literature. While book steward and editor of the Christian Advocate he also edited the Methodist Magazine and the books published by the Book Concern. It was he who wrote the constitution of the Missionary Society and its first address, and for sixteen years acted as secretary, vice president, and treasurer without pay. In 1836 he became

missionary secretary. In 1841 he was president of Wesleyan University, but the following year returned to the pastorate. He is the author of a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in four volumes, besides works in defense of the doctrines and usages of the Church. He was an earnest

preacher of the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification. He died on May 3, 1862.

About 1831 a private association purchased the New England Christian Herald and after publishing it for nearly two years bargained with the Book Concern for the return of the name "Zion's Herald," whereupon, on August 30, 1833,



THOMAS E. BOND, M.D. Editor Christian Advocate, 1840-1848, 1852-1856.

this part of the name was dropped from the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, and on January 4, 1866, the name was further curtailed, leaving the abbreviated name the Christian Advocate, which remains to this day.

This Advocate enjoys the distinction of having the longest unbroken history of all Methodist periodicals. It has had eleven editors: B. Badger (1826–1828); Nathan Bangs (1828–1832; 1834–1836); John P. Durbin (1832–1834); Samuel Luckey (1836–1840); Thomas E. Bond (1840–1848; 1852–1856);

George Peck (1848–1852); Abel Stevens (1856–1860); Edward Thomson (1860–1864); Daniel Curry (1864–1876); Charles H. Fowler (1876–1880); James M. Buckley (1880–). During the years it has grown in size, circulation, comprehensiveness of topics, and in influence, and by constantly availing itself of



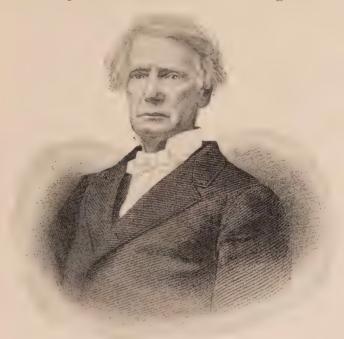
GEORGE PECK.
Editor Methodist Review, 1840-1848; Christian Advocate, 1848-1852.

the mechanical improvements of the age it has reached a very high degree of typographical excellence. It is second to none of its kind.

The Methodist Review has no rival in its own field. Its patronage is restricted by the character of its matter. Its readers have ever esteemed it for its high aims, its broad liberty of thought,

and its devotion to revealed truth. The Church has been fortunate in having and wise in selecting editors for the conduct of this important periodical. Prior to 1832 it was edited by the book agents. From 1832 to 1840 the editor of the Christian Advocate was responsible for editing it. In 1840 George Peck was elected editor of the Review. In 1848 he was succeeded by John McClintock, and in 1856 Daniel D. Whedon succeeded him and retained the office for twenty-eight

years. Daniel Curry, the veteran, was the next editor. He died in office, and Daniel Wise, another veteran, completed his quadrennium. J. W. Mendenhall served from 1888 to 1892. William V. Kelley has edited the Review since 1893. With the spread of Methodism and the growth of the



DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.

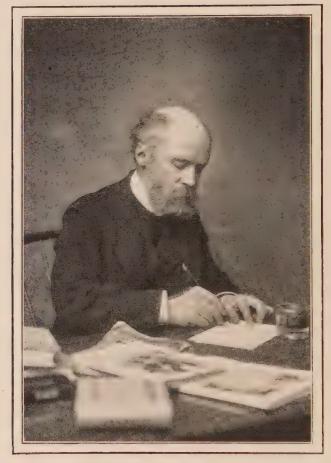
Editor of the Christian Advocate, 1864-1876; editor of the National Repository, 1876-1880; editor of the Methodist Review, 1884-1887.

United States in the West and South the need and demand for local Church organs have been heeded by the Church.

The Western Christian Advocate was authorized by the General Conference of 1832. It soon became a power in the Church, and its list of editors includes some of the most distinguished names in our denominational history.

The Pittsburg Christian Advocate began in 1833, but was

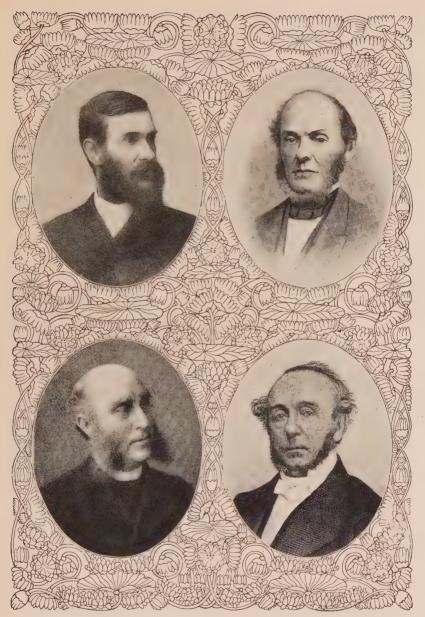
under the control of the Pittsburg Conference until 1844, when it became an official organ of the Church.



JAMES MONROE BUCKLEY, D.D., LL.D. Editor of the Christian Advocate, 1880-.

Der Christliche Apologete began in 1840 as the Church organ for German Methodism.

In 1844 the Northern Christian Advocate was begun, followed in 1852 by the California Christian Advocate. The



EDITORS OF THE METHODIST REVIEW.

J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D., 1888-1892. DANIEL D. WHEDON, D.D., LL.D., 1856-1884. WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., LL.D., 1893-. JOHN McCLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D., 1848-1856.



Northwestern Christian Advocate was established as an official organ the same year. Its location in the metropolis of the Northwest and its succession of great editors brought and kept it in the first rank of our journals.



AFTER AN ENGRAVING BY JEWETT AND ANDERSON FROM A DAGGERREOTYPE

SAMUEL WILLIAMS.
Founder of the Ladies' Repository.

In 1856 the Pacific Christian Advocate, at Portland, Ore., and the Central Christian Advocate, at St. Louis, Mo., were established. The latter was removed in 1900 to Kansas City, Mo.

In January, 1841, the Western Methodist Book Concern issued the first number of the Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West, a monthly magazine of "literature and religion," and, it may be added, "of art," for the copper and steel engravings which embellished its successive numbers exercised a marked influence upon the æsthetic culture of the people of the Ohio valley. Rev. L. L. Hamline was the editor, and at the end of the first year he could congratulate himself upon a subscription list of nearly eight thousand names. Hamline was succeeded by Rev. Edward Thomson (1844-1845) and Rev. B. F. Tefft (1846-1852). The volume for 1852 bears the name of Rev. W. C. Larrabee, who was for many years among the most prominent of Methodist educators. On his resignation (November, 1852) the Book Committee chose Rev. Davis Wasgatt Clark to fill the vacancy. In his long editorial term he enlarged and greatly improved the Repository. Rev. Isaac W. Wiley (1864-1872) and Rev. Erastus Wentworth (1872-1876) were its last editors under the old name. In 1876 its title was changed to National Repository, and Dr. Daniel Curry was chosen to edit it. The effort to produce a popular magazine in competition with those which were being issued by secular publishers was not a success, and in December, 1880, Dr. Curry wrote the Valediction, which still merits a reading from all those who have desired the Church to reembark upon this field of enterprise.

From July, 1852, to December, 1858, the Book Concern in New York published the National Magazine, a monthly periodical of much merit, but inadequate patronage. Its editors were Rev. Abel Stevens (1852–1856) and Rev. James Floy (1856–1858), then corresponding secretary of the Tract Society.

Besides the official Church papers there have been and are





Northwestern Christian Advocate. Pittsburg Christian Advocate. Western Christian Advocate.

DAVID D. THOMPSON. CHARLES W. SMITH, D.D. LEVI GILBERT, D.D.



BENNETT E. TITUS. Northern Christian Advocate.



A. N. FISHER, D.D. Pacific Christian Advocate.



F. D. BOVARD, D.D. California Christian Advocate.







I. B. SCOTT, D.D.

Southwestern Christian Advocate, Central Christian Advocate, Methodist Advocate-Journal.

CLAUDIUS B. SPENCER, D.D. ROBERT J. COOKE, D.D.



numerous independent journals which, while owned by private individuals or corporations, have wielded considerable influence for Methodism, and have been tenaciously true to its doctrinal standards, although in some instances established for the avowed purpose of changing its polity.

Zion's Herald has had a well-earned prosperity. It is

owned by a private corporation of Methodists in Boston, and by its literary and religious excellence has won and holds the esteem of an extensive constituency.

The Christian Standard, published in Philadelphia, formerly the Philadelphia Christian Standard or Home Journal, was published several years by Adam Wallace,



W. C. LARRABEE, D.D.

Elected editor of the Ladies' Repository, 1852. State superintendent of education for Indiana.

was then sold, and has since been edited by A. Lowry, J. S. Inskip, E. I. D. Pepper, John Thompson, and Joseph H. Smith. The three last named are the present editors. Its principal feature is the advocacy and enforcement of the doctrine of Christian holiness.

The Christelige Talsmand (Norwegian), published at Chicago, Ill., and the Ostra Sandebudet (Swedish), at Worces-

ter, Mass., are independent publications in the interest of foreign-speaking Methodists.

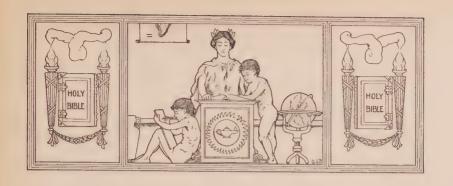
The Philadelphia Methodist, the Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Del.), the Baltimore Methodist (Baltimore, Md.), the Christian Uplook (Buffalo, N. Y.), the Methodist



CHARLES PARKHURST, D.D. Editor of Zion's Herald.

JAMES H. POTTS, D.D. Editor of the Michigan Christian Advocate.

Times (Cleveland, O.), the Michigan Christian Advocate (Detroit), the Pennsylvania Methodist (Harrisburg), and many others of similar local ownership and patronage, are faithfully upholding the banner of the truest Methodism; advocating the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in the earth, meanwhile by all laudable means strengthening everywhere its stakes and lengthening its cords.



CHAPTER LXXXV

The Training and Education of Children

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.—ORIGIN.—HANNAH BALL AND MR. WESLEY.—
SOPHIA COOK AND ROBERT RAIKES.—ASBURY'S SCHOOL THE FIRST
IN AMERICA.—SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.—ITS ORGANIC CHANGES.—
KIDDER, WISE, VINCENT, HURLBUT, NEELY.—MARVELOUS GROWTH
OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL IDEA.—RINDGE FUND.—LITERATURE.—
BENEVOLENCE.—REFORM.—YOUTH SAVED AND MANHOOD BUILT UP.

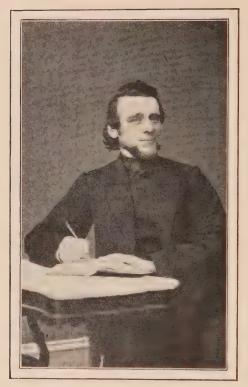
N 1769 Miss Hannah Ball, under John Wesley's patronage and supervision, "gathered a number of the poor and neglected and taught them on Saturday and Sunday," regularly reporting her work to Wesley.

In 1781 Robert Raikes and Miss Sophia Cook, a young Methodist girl who afterward married the Rev. Samuel Bradburn, one of the greatest of Wesleyan preachers, began to teach the neglected street children of Gloucester "to read, and to take them to church." Wesley recommended Raikes to all his people.

The Christmas Conference, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, carefully considered the needs of childhood, and in answer to the question, "What shall be done for the rising generation?" gave the following direction: "Where there are ten children whose parents are in society, meet them at least once a week."

875

Bishop Asbury organized one of the earliest Sunday schools in America, if not the earliest, at the house of Thomas Crenshaw, in Hanover County, Va. The profitable result of



DANIEL WISE, D.D., LL.D. Secretary of the Sunday School Union, 1856-1868.

his labors in behalf of the children inspired the Church universal for similar work.

The Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in New York on April 2, 1827. It was located near the Book Concern, whose facilities for printing and circulating books were deemed highly advantageous to this work. The objects of this society were declared to be "to promote the formation and to concentrate the efforts of Sabbath schools connected with the con-

gregations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and all others that may become auxiliary; to aid in the instruction of the rising generation, particularly in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and in the service and worship of God."

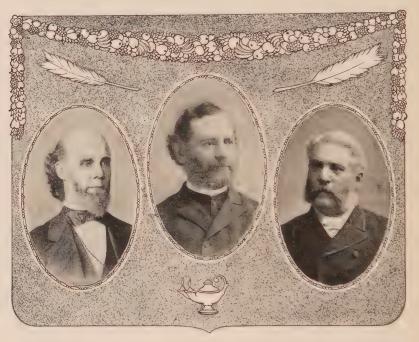
This society, in 1833, was merged into the "Bible, Sunday School, and Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." But this threefold organization was found too

cumbersome, and a new one was formed in 1840 and was recognized by the General Conference of that year, which adopted a constitution for the government of the "Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In 1844 the General Conference decided to have "an editor especially and solely for the Sunday School Department," and the Rev. Daniel P. Kidder was elected to the position. He also performed the duties of corresponding secretary. In 1852 the General Conference by special enactment combined these two offices. Dr. Kidder in 1856 was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel Wise; he, in 1868, by Rev. J. H. Vincent, who upon his elevation to the episcopacy, in 1888, was succeeded by the Rev. Jesse L. Hurlbut, who after twelve years was followed by the Rev. T. B. Neely, the present incumbent. Bishop Vincent's pen has been tireless in aiding and extending the growth of the Sunday school idea. In 1866 he founded the Sunday School Teacher at Chicago. Other works of his are: The Church School, and Its Officers (1872); The Sunday School Institute and Normal Classes (1872); The Modern Sunday School (1887), and Pedagogy (1890).

Dr. Hurlbut, his successor, has written: Manual of Biblical Geography (1882); Outline Normal Lessons (1883); Supplemental Lessons for the Sunday School (1887); Studies in the Four Gospels (1889); Outlines in Old Testament History (1890).

Dr. Neely is the author of The Church Lyceum, Young Workers in the Church, The Parliamentarian, Parliamentary Practice, The Evolution of Episcopacy and Organic Methodism, The Governing Conference in Methodism.

The General Conference of 1872 changed the constitution of the society, and provided that thenceforth the Board of Managers should be appointed by the General Conference, rather than, as hitherto, by persons paying a specified annual sum. Thus the society was made permanently connectional. The purposes of the Sunday School Union have broadened since its organization. Its chief objects are to encourage the formation of schools in poorer places and amid sparse popu-



SECRETARIES OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION AND TRACT SOCIETY.

Daniel Parish Kidder, D.D., Thomas Benjamin Neely, D.D., Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, D.D., 1844-1856. LL.D., 1900-, 1888-1900.

lations by furnishing to them small donations of Lesson Leaves, teaching material, and books suitable for libraries, to improve the quality of Sunday school instruction, and to awaken in the entire Church a feeling of unity in this work.

Through the generosity of Mr. Frederick H. Rindge, of California, the Union was able for several years to make special grants for the organization of new Sunday schools.

During the year 1897 two hundred and sixteen new schools were thus established. The results have been very gratifying. From the school has often grown the church. The gift does not purpose to foster or encourage dependence, but independence and self-support.

In conjunction with the Tract Society, the Sunday School Union publishes for the colored people of the South a weekly paper called Good Tidings. During the year 1900 it supplied this periodical to more than nineteen hundred Sunday schools. It has also accomplished much for the Indians, while by the establishment of Sunday schools among the foreign population of the United States it has done genuine missionary work among the Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Bohemians, French, Italians, Spaniards, Portugese, Chinese, and Japanese.

Since 1847 it has rendered valuable assistance to the Missionary Society in foreign mission fields. No connectional society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has had a more successful career than the Sunday School Union. It has entered every avenue traversed by each of the other societies, and is the assistant of all. It is especially recognized as a powerful agency in the conversion and religious education of the children and youth of the Church.

The statistics for 1900 show that in the Methodist Episcopal Church there were 31,848 Sunday schools, 347,914 officers and teachers, and 2,674,349 scholars of all ages. Of the scholars, 854,114 are already Church members or probationers, and 107,378 of them were converted during the year. There are 4,204 schools in foreign lands, with 10,357 officers and teachers, and 189,369 scholars.

These figures suggest the immense growth of the Sunday school idea, but do not reveal the immense improvement of the methods and appliances and the elevation of ideals. Bishop Galloway has said: "The Sunday school has passed



JOHN HEYL VINCENT, D.D., LL.D.

Corresponding secretary of the Sunday School Union, 1868-1888; consecrated a bishop of the

Methodist Episcopal Church, 1888.

its apologetic period. Its right to live has been demonstrated by the spiritual achievements it has wrought, by the marvelous history it has written. Its first suggestion and initial development was as a moral police institution. Its avowed purpose was to restrain the depredations of ragged hoodlums upon personal property and their shameless desecrations of the holy Sabbath."

During the first period of the history of the Sunday school the instruction was primary. Then followed memorizing of Scripture, while the modern period emphasizes correct interpretation and understanding of the word. There has, however, always been one text-book—the Holy Bible. The development of Sunday school literature has been remarkable. Not the denominational presses only, but secular publishing houses recognize the Sunday school as a special and profitable field. There has come to be a great rivalry for patronage. While this is a clear sign of the growing value of Sunday school literature, it has also proved to be a source of danger, inasmuch as a desire for cheap literature has too frequently been satisfied at the expense of doctrinal, if not of ethical, purity.

The Sunday School Advocate, for children, founded in 1840, and the Sunday School Classmate, first issued in 1873, and designed especially for elder scholars, have since been enlarged and otherwise improved. The latter periodical, since 1890, called The Classmate, is a handsome eight-page illustrated weekly for youth. The Sunday School Journal, founded in 1860, and designed for teachers, has grown in size, quality, and influence. Its latest editor, Dr. Neely, has introduced extensive improvements and has extended its usefulness, as is suggested by its new title, The Sunday School Journal and Bible Student's Magazine.

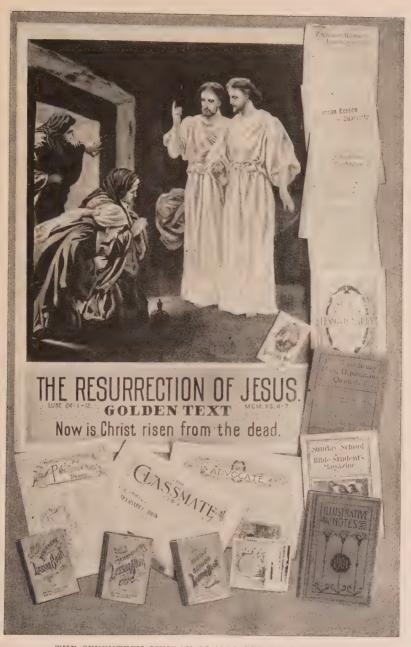
The establishment of the uniform lesson helps has developed a magnificent array of learned men and women em-

ployed in the preparation of critical, expository, and homiletical studies of the text, while others as skillfully have dedicated their artistic talents to pictorial illustrations simplifying the divine truth for the youngest child in the schools.

From the isolated school under private conduct, or the outcome of local demands, the Sunday school of to-day has developed into a compact connectional organization. It is a highly honored unit in the ecclesiastical organism. It is under the control and care of the Church, which gives to it the best furnishing and means.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church each Sunday school is under the care of the Sunday School Board, which consists of the pastor, the superintendent and other officers, the teachers, and the Committee on Sunday Schools appointed by the Quarterly Conference. The superintendent is nominated annually by the Sunday School Board and elected by the Quarterly Conference, and by special election may become, and usually does become, a member of the Quarterly Conference. The other officers are elected by the Sunday School Board. The Sunday School Committee is the connecting link between the Quarterly Conference and the Sunday school, and in certain specified cases has a supervisory function.

Every Sunday school is required to be organized into a missionary society. A large part of the funds contributed by the church for missions comes from the Sunday school, and at the same time the love for the missionary cause has been emphasized. The cause of education is fostered among the children of the church by the celebration of Children's Day and by the annual collection in the schools on behalf of the Children's Educational Fund. The cause of temperance is always advanced by the formation in the schools of temperance societies, by means of which the children are pledged



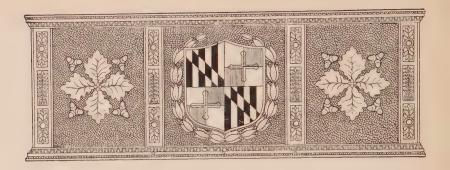
THE SEVENTEEN SUNDAY SCHOOL PERIODICALS, 1901.

Issued by the Methodist Book Concern, under the editorship of the corresponding secretary of the Sunday School Union.



in early life to total abstinence and instructed in the principles of prohibition. Sunday School Rally Day, an autumnal festival of ingathering, is rapidly becoming one of the great days of the Sunday school calendar. The collection taken in the schools on that occasion goes into the treasury of the Sunday School Union.

Altogether the Sunday school has produced marvelous results. Through its agency thousands have been brought to Christ. It has developed and profitably employed the hitherto latent forces in the Church. It has been a blessing to the home. It has been a wonderful conservator of sound doctrine and religious life.



CHAPTER LXXXVI

Multiplication by Division

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.—LAY REPRESENTATION THE CHIEF ISSUE.—"UNION SOCIETIES."—MUTUAL RIGHTS.—GENERAL CONFERENCE ACTION.—CONVENTION OF 1828.—"ASSOCIATED METHODIST CHURCHES."—CONVENTION OF 1830.

HE early complaints against ecclesiastical order in the several Conferences held in England, such as those at Bristol, Manchester, and Leeds toward the close of the eighteenth century, reacted here in the various attempts at a modification of Church government. Among the first of these to achieve notoriety was the movement of O'Kelly, in 1792, which resulted in a considerable secession from the Church. Unpopular and disastrous as it soon proved, its principle—the right of appeal from the bishop's appointment to an undesirable charge—was not lost to view, and afterward became a foundation stone of the Methodist Protestant edifice. The events of 1800 added another. Since the year 1786 presiding elders had been appointed by the bishop. Now there arose a demand for their election—a demand that was pressed by Nicholas Snethen in the General Conference of 1812; became after the death of Asbury, in 1816, a decided and exciting question; was adopted by the General Conference of 1820, but suspended in its operation for four years by that body and then annulled.

But if these measures were important in the estimation of some, as checks upon the government, not less so in the view of others was the principle of lay representation. The contest therefore was a triangular one—itinerants against bishops, local preachers against itinerants, and laymen against any system which did not assure them a part in the deliberations of and the making of laws for the Church. The latter cause, last of all to appear, ultimately swallowed up all other considerations and became the great watchword of party allegiance.

The Wesleyan Repository was published from 1821 to 1824, first at Trenton, N. J., and later in Philadelphia, by a layman, William S. Stockton. Among other articles it contained a series from the able pen of Nicholas Snethen on the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A somewhat larger freedom in the discussion and criticism of Church government marked these articles than was permitted in the Methodist Magazine, and led to the framing of several memorials to the General Conference of 1824. While this Conference was in session a convention of reformers was held in Baltimore at which it was resolved to begin the publication of a journal called Mutual Rights, and the organization of "Union Societies" for the propagation of their claims and principles. A little later The Itinerant began to be published in Baltimore, with Thomas E. Bond, editor, defending the Church against the attacks contained in Mutual Rights.

For the offense of circulating Mutual Rights and McCaine's book, The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy, for attendance upon the meetings of the "Union Societies," and for similar infractions of the peace and harmony of the

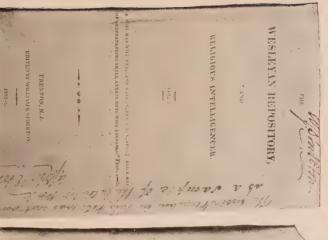
Church, fourteen official members in Bedford County, Tenn., were expelled from the Church, fourteen local preachers in Baltimore were excluded from the pulpit of that city, and Dennis B. Dorsey and William C. Pool were expelled from the Baltimore Conference. While Pittsburg, Cincinnati, New York, and Philadelphia were centers of disturbance, Baltimore was the pivotal point for all involved.

The fear that immense danger lurked behind the exercise of power on the part of bishops and presiding elders appears in varied form even in the writings of Nicholas Snethen. Thus he speaks of presiding elders as having it in their power, and by their "secret orders," to "vex or torture preachers out of the connection," and of bishops as "liable to abuse their unlimited power to the full extent of human peccability."

Some others spoke of the episcopacy as "founded in false-hood, in imposture, and in fraud;" or referred contemptuously to the six Englishmen who crossed the Atlantic and asserted their intention to rule all the Methodist preachers and societies then existing, or that might afterward have an existence, in America; denouncing their "assumption of the high prerogative of prescribing to all American Methodist preachers the sole rule of their conduct."

Out of these discussions various propositions were formulated looking to a modification of government. Some of these were: lay delegates in the Annual and General Conferences—in the former, one from each circuit and station; in the latter, a number equal to the ministerial members entitled to a seat. Local preachers were also to be admitted to the General Conference, and this body was to call a convention, formed of itinerants and laymen, to draft a "Constitution to be binding upon each member of the Church."

None of these plans were adopted by the General Confer-



MUTUAL RIGHTS

PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A COPY AT DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

THE WESLEYAN REPOSITORY.

This copy, which belonged to William S. Stockton, was presented to the Drew Library by his son, Frank R. Stockton.



PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A COPY AT DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE MUTUAL RIGHT'S.

METHODIST EPISCOPACY.

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PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A COPY AT DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE HISTORY AND MYSTERY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPACY.



ence of 1824, though they had their advocates and champions. Several days were consumed by a special committee in revising the petitioners' papers. A report adverse to the several plans was submitted, and the Conference issued a circular letter declaring inexpedient the changes desired.

This circular discussed the reasons for the conclusion, and maintained that the Conference held most sacred the "rights and privileges of brethren as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church." We are "unconscious of having infringed them in any instance-nor would we do so," continued the letter. "The limitations and restrictions which describe the extent of our authority in General Conference, and



NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

A leader in the reform agitation.

beyond which we have never acted, vindicate our sincerity in this assertion. These restrictions are to you the guarantee of your rights and privileges. But if by 'rights and privileges' it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the Church as we received them from our fathers, pardon us if we know no such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges."

The publication of this circular was regarded by the memorialists as a final rejection of all of their claims, and accordingly they issued a call for a convention following the Conference. This was held on May 21, when seventeen members of the General Conference, together with other itinerants and lay members and local preachers, assembled in session to take larger and more active measures in support of their cause.

From this time events led on rapidly to the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church. Separation had been hinted, and not infrequently declared unavoidable because of local persecutions, social ostracisms, and dismissals from membership. Snethen, however, though he spoke sharply of excessive rigor in the government, advocated, so late as 1827, remaining in the Church. But he was upon record as saying, "We do not think divisions are never justifiable," and none had more influence than he. Elsewhere in the same connection he had said: "When rumors of discontent are heard from some and the apprehensions of divisions from others, particularly the latter, they call forth and fix our attention upon the interesting subject of the means best calculated to secure union and Church rights. . . . The voice of God ever calls his people to come out of bloody Babylon."

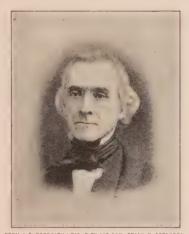
Perhaps an overtempered zeal was equally characteristic of all concerned. For to one it seemed the very destruction of the Church, while the other proclaimed it the security and glory of her membership. And if to the one the measures employed for the repression of the contention seemed harsh, to the other they seemed essential to save the bulwarks of Zion.

In November, 1827, a general convention, consisting of fifty-seven delegates from various societies of reformers, met

in Baltimore, discussed the controverted points of polity, and prepared a memorial to the General Conference.

When the General Conference met at Pittsburg in 1828 petitions were sent up asking for the restoration of the expelled, and complaints were made of the "abuse of power to the injury of the cause of religion" by the "ruling author-

ities," the "intolerant measures of proscription and persecution against the advocates of ecclesiastical liberty," and the "onward march" of clerical power and its violation of the rights of private members of the Church. The Conference, in reply, "affectionately advised that no further proceedings be had against any minister or member on account of any past agency or concern." But it declared against the admission of laymen into the body on the ground of the necessity



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LOANED BY HIS SON, FRANK R STOCKTO

WILLIAM S. STOCKTON.

Publisher of The Wesleyan Repository.

of maintaining "Gospel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline" in their purity. It also announced the terms of the restoration of the expelled. These were: the free concession of the inflammatory nature and character of articles in the Mutual Rights and the expression of regret therefor; the abolition of the Union Societies; and the discontinuance of the publication of the Mutual Rights with the close of the current volume. But this arrangement was to be mutually assented to by the expelled and the quarterly meeting Conference, and the minister or preacher in charge in any circuit or station where such expulsion had occurred.

These terms were considered unnecessarily severe and galling, and were rejected by the reformers. Speedily the committee appointed by their general convention of 1827 issued a call for another general convention to meet in Baltimore, but they did not advise a separation from the Church until the general sentiments could be known through representatives in the contemplated convention. Separation, however, though not at this time announced, was really a foregone conclusion. The convention met November 12, 1828, in St. John's Church, Baltimore. Representatives were present from eleven States and the District of Columbia. On the 20th of the month "Articles of Association" were adopted, and on the 21st a "Preamble" to these articles, explaining and defending the cause and "solemnly protesting" against the right of the General Conference to institute or sustain its "violent proceedings." The next step was the formal organization of congregations under the provisional name of "Associated Methodist Churches," with the declaration that the new organization adhered to "the articles of religion, general rules, means of grace, moral discipline, rites, and ceremonies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to the same mode of administering these rules and rites, except in particular instances."

Another general convention was held in 1830 in Baltimore. Here a constitution was adopted and the name of the organization changed to that of the Methodist Protestant Church.

Thus was launched into existence a new Church, retaining the distinctive peculiarities of the Methodist Episcopal Church: its doctrines, worship, ecclesiastical nomenclature, local economy, itinerancy, and general interests. In the matter of government only there was a departure from old forms and precedents.



CHAPTER LXXXVII

Growth of the Methodist Protestants

EARLY STRUGGLES AND LEADERS,—PRINCIPLES,—RIGHT OF APPEAL,-"SILK STOCKINGS,"

THE early history of the Methodist Protestants was one of mingled success and disaster. They had no churches, save as the courtesy of others gave them a temporary pulpit. They had at first no revenues, and even when these were realized they limited themselves by two laws: one that no preacher should be allowed to receive more than his stipulated "allowance," which not unfrequently was made up of wood or horse feed, and another that no member should be constrained to pay, at class meeting or elsewhere, to the pastor's salary. This was to be purely a matter of the individual conscience. Internal disorders sprang up among them, the inevitable effect of the flux and collision of opinion in a new organization, and they seemed likely to be dispersed into other denominations or to be lost altogether. Snethen, in his Identifier, says: "We have no head or leader, but that the want of one is felt among us is no secret. There will be a crisis in which every social body will need a leader. Some one mind must then direct." He cautions his brethren lest the spirit of persecution and excommunication possess them instead of the mind of Christ. The habit of pursuing the "details of debate to personalities has led to severe trials of our brotherly love." There was also a "general want of concentrated enthusiasm that portends changes." "Our own essay writers are falling off, and the contents of our periodicals are extracts from other writers."

While these grave charges came from within there were complaints from without that the Church taught no distinctive dogma, and seemed only a "continuation, in a less degree, of Methodism." This latter fact was, however, the glory of the Church's partisans. Said Williams, the earliest of their historians: "The Methodist Protestant Church receives and teaches the doctrines of the Gospel as taught by John Wesley, John Fletcher, Joseph Benson, and Dr. Adam Clarke. She also recognizes the following means of grace: The public worship of Almighty God, searching the Scriptures, the Lord's Supper, love feasts, class meetings, private and family prayer."

It was this strict conformity to Methodist usages that appealed so powerfully to its early adherents, about one thousand of whom withdrew from the parent Church. But more than any other contribution to its success were the distinctively evangelistic agencies employed in the spread of its mission. Its zeal for its ecclesiastical peculiarities was great, but its fervor for the kingdom of Jesus was greater.

"Brethren," said Charles F. Deems, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in an enthusiastic burst of praise, before the General Conference of 1866, "brethren, you have converted us"—alluding to the principle of lay delegation. But this conversion was the result of the operation of the principle itself on the convictions of men, and not of any secret propagandism.

The convention of 1830 represented 5,000 members, 2,000 of whom were the converts of the camp meetings and revival services, 938 being the ingathering of Maryland preachers

alone. In this State 10 camp meetings and 60 preaching places some extremely humble—were established in 1829, and by the opening of the following year the communicants were about 2,000. In Ohio 3,701 members were reported. In 1830 two churches were in possession — St. John's Church in Baltimore and the First Church of Pittsburg. These were worth about \$40,000. An enlarged



ASA SHINN.
Author and preacher.

membership was reported in 1833, having reached 10,348. A year later, at the first General Conference, 13 Annual Conferences reported, and the communicants were 26,587. Property valuations have been set down as about equaling \$1,000,000, but this is far in excess of the real sum.

The great figures of these early days were Nicholas Snethen, whom Bishop Asbury called his "silver trumpet"—a classical scholar, a genius in the pulpit, and a voluminous writer on ecclesiastical topics; Asa Shinn, a profound thinker and brilliant preacher, and an author of note in his day; Charles

Avery, who distinguished himself by munificent gifts to religious enterprises; and George Brown and Cornelius Springer, who subsequently were active in the separation of the Western branch of the Church from the parent stock. In addition,



THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON, D.D. A chaplain of the United States Senate.

but a little later, were Thomas H. Stockton, whose peerless eloquence was early noticed by Henry Clay and later by Henry Ward Beecher, and who, as chaplain in the United States Senate, rose to a most commanding and influential position; Francis Waters, the scholar, courtly and dignified in his bearing, and eminently successful as the president of Washington College, which was founded by the Assembly of Maryland; John S. Reese, M.D., the "beloved physician," a man of rare judgment

and of highly engaging manner in the pulpit and out of it; and W. H. Bordley, Charles W. Jacobs, and Levi R. Reese.

The general principles of the denomination are thus set forth by the Rev. Dr. John J. Murray: The Church is representative in polity; laymen sit in equal numbers with ministers in the Annual and General Conferences. There is but one order in the ministry, that of elder or presbyter. The General Conference, as well as each Annual Conference, elects its own presiding officer. In the Annual Conference a president may serve five consecutive years, and is thereafter ineligible to the same office. Stewards and trustees are

elected by the membership of the Church, and class leaders by the classes, and these with the Sunday school superintendents form the Quarterly Conference. Pastors are appointed for one year to their charges, but there is no "restrictive rule," and the pastoral term is only limited by the necessities



D. B. DORSEY, M.D.

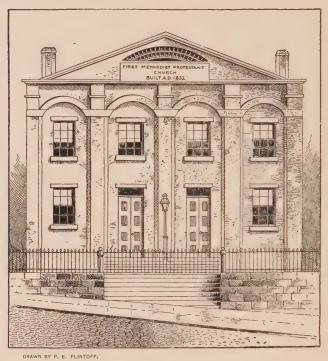
J. S. REESE, M.D.

GEORGE BROWN, D.D.

of the case. The right of appeal to the Conference is secured in the Constitution. Bishops and presiding elders are not recognized, the view being that a pastor having a charge is a bishop in the New Testament sense.

The peculiar feature of an appeal from the appointing power has rarely been exercised in the history of the denomination. But in the South, where, in the middle period of the Church's history, great wealth came into the denomination, the check upon the appointing power proved well-nigh a disaster. The pastors, who were in many cases planters

in affluent circumstances, declined to accept charges outside of easy distance of their plantations. The itinerancy was thus reduced to the parish system, and when the civil war called off so many pastors to the fields of strife there were not enough itinerants, in the real sense of the word, to keep the



FIRST METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH, PITTSBURG, PA.

work in healthful condition. The scarcity of preachers arose despite the excellent material condition of the districts—a condition attested by even the rural houses of worship, and in Florida and elsewhere by the name of "Silk Stockings" popularly applied to the denomination. For this reason whole Conferences declined and some ceased to exist. Perhaps also the preponderance of wealth was, in many locali-

ties, the ultimate cause of failure. In North Carolina and Alabama churches were isolated from popular sympathy by this cause, as after the war and in a new period their great poverty alienated them from the same people. Beyond the State of Virginia, however, the cause never gained wide favor, and, after the events of 1844, was vastly overshadowed by the marvelous growth of the Episcopal Methodism of the South. North Carolina alone, of all the Southern States below Maryland, has gained its old status, and in the last ten years has made great advances toward ranking, with Maryland, Pittsburg, and Muskingum, among the largest Conferences.



CHAPTER LXXXVIII

Methodist Protestants Divide

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT. — DIVISION. — THE NORTHWESTERN BRANCH.—"THE METHODIST CHURCH."—REUNION.—ATTEMPTS AT LARGER UNION.

CCORDING to Bassett, one of the historians of the Western branch of Methodist Protestants, the convention of 1830 committed an irreparable injury to the entire denomination in confining the privileges of suffrage to white members of the Church, and in inserting in the constitution a clause to the effect that "neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference should assume power to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil government or the operation of the civil laws." "This was always understood," says he, "as intended for the protection of the slaveholding interests, and to preclude any enactment to counteract slaveholding as a moral evil." He quotes George Brown, a prominent member of that convention, as writing in his Autobiography: "The word 'white' (in the Constitution) never did anything but mischief, as it cut off all the colored people from voting power in our community. Nor could we get Southern cooperation in conventional action until their slaveholding laws were as strongly guarded by our Church Constitution, against the action of all ecclesiastical bodies, as the morality of the holy Scriptures."

Quite another view prevailed in the Southern Conferences. The word "white" had an entirely local flavor, and was intended to secure to itinerants, should judicial trials occur, a hearing at the hands of their peers. And as to referring the question of suffrage to the Annual Conferences, to be settled each for itself, this was done to prevent a "mixing up of political and party bias with anything that affects the work of God in connection with Methodism." The action of the Maryland Conference, later on, expressed the current Southern opinion. "Recognizing," said this body, "as the high and exclusive mission of the Gospel ministry the preaching of Christ crucified to our perishing fellow-men, we will continue to devote ourselves with renewed zeal and energy to the one work to which we have been called."

The item on the subject of slavery, adopted by the Church in its conference of April, 1829, was very brief. "Resolved, that we are as much as ever opposed to slavery," was about all its contents. In 1831 this was defined to mean holding men or women, or selling them into bondage for life. Larger deliverances than this were feared as leading to strife and early disaster.

The General Conference of 1842 avoided the question at issue by referring it to the several Annual Conferences to regulate for themselves, and repeated this action at its next two succeeding sessions, in 1846 and 1850. This position, however, was repugnant to the sentiment in the West, and in September, 1851, the North Illinois Conference uttered a vigorous protest through the columns of the Methodist Protestant, at Baltimore, the official organ of the Church. At this the South instantly took alarm, and, the case having

come under review in the General Conference of 1854, there resulted the establishment at Pittsburg of a Western Church paper and Book Concern. This was the beginning of separation which subsequent events confirmed.

A convention of the several bodies supporting the Western Book Concern was arranged and held in 1856. This convention projected a similar assembly, for the following year, which was to determine whether or not "to organize a General Conference embracing only Annual Conferences opposed to the system of American slavery." The delegates met at Cincinnati, as appointed, and memorialized the General Conference of 1858, at Lynchburg, Va., to this effect: "First, the word 'white' should be struck from the Constitution." Second, the item "understood and used to protect ministers and members of the Church in the practice of slaveholding and slave dealing" must be similarly treated. "Third, a clause should be inserted specifically setting forth that the practices of voluntary slaveholding and of slave dealing will be henceforth a barrier to membership in the Methodist Protestant Church."

The case of the petitioners was cogently argued by William Collier, once the president of the Maryland Conference; but the General Conference declared that it had no constitutional authority to act in the premises, the Annual Conferences being wholly free to legislate upon the matter to suit themselves. Disappointed and chagrined at this answer, the four representatives of the Cincinnati convention—Collier, White, Clancy, and Reeves—reported through the Western Methodist Protestant the failure of their efforts, and united in an appeal to the Western Conferences, advising legislation for the future independence of the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church. This appeal aroused the par-

ties to whom it was addressed, similar action followed in other quarters, and formal suspension of relations between the West and South was declared in November, 1858. Somewhat later, as the result of a union with the Wesleyan Methodist Connection and others, the word "Protestant" was dropped from the denominational title.

This body, "The Methodist Church"—the amalgamation of the above bodies and several independent congregations which had agreed to the coalition May 9, 1866—existed until May 16, 1877, when, as the result of negotiations between the General Conferences of the two Churches, the Western and Southern branches were united at Baltimore under the original ecclesiastical style, "the Methodist Protestant Church."

Throughout these days of strife and division the Maryland Conference maintained steadily its policy of noninterference with political matters. During all this period the Methodist Protestant, published at Baltimore, maintained the character of a purely religious journal, and was permitted by Stanton, Secretary of War, to pass the lines to its patrons in the South.

An unsuccessful attempt at the consolidation of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was made at Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1867. On the part of the latter, Bishops Pierce and McTyeire were the principal representatives. John J. Murray was president of the convention for the former body, which represented thirteen Annual Conferences. These proposed to the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the elimination of the word "South" from the Church name; the abolition of the presiding eldership; a number of bishops equal to the Annual Conferences; the new bishops thus gained from the union with the Methodist Protestants to be named one each from their Conferences by those bodies, the General Conferences

ence electing such nominees; itinerant ministers to have the right of appeal from the stationing authority; transfers of ministers to be wholly at their consent and that of the Conference receiving them; circuits, missions, and stations to



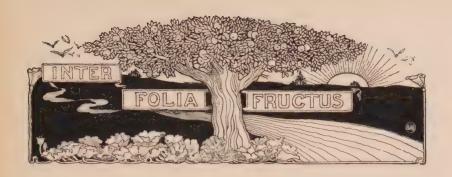
JOHN J. MURRAY.

have one delegate each in the Annual Conference; and the abolition of the bishops' veto power.

These propositions, numbering fourteen in all, were considered by the commission: but their replies were so unsatisfactory to the convention of Methodist Protestants that they adjourned, holding the "whole subject in abeyance and advisement, awaiting the development and indications of Providence." Fraternal delegations between the Churches continued, but no subsequent thought of

union has ever been publicly entertained by either body.

Some efforts locally taken to secure a union of Methodist Protestants and Cumberland Presbyterians seemed at one time to presage such a coalescence, but the deliverances of Pan-Presbyterian councils in Scotland and England on the matter of a general Confession of Faith, and the hope of ultimate recognition by the larger Presbyterian bodies of America, put an end to the movement.



CHAPTER LXXXIX

Leading Activities of Methodist Protestants

GENERAL INTERESTS. — MISSIONS. — WOMAN'S WORK, — EDUCATIONAL FEATURES.—LATER PROMINENT LEADERS.—STATISTICAL MARKS OF PROGRESS.—HYMN BOOKS.

HILE the general interests of the Methodist Protestant Church were projected in 1834, but little was done in their cultivation. The Church was poor. The salaries of preachers ranged from \$100 to \$300, and in this latter case house rent and furniture had to be provided out of that sum. Conditions were primitive indeed. Lawrence W. Bates quaintly says of those days, referring to camp meetings, "We slept on feather beds in wagons, washed at the spring, ate our meals off of stumps, and wiped our fingers on watermelon rinds." But the preaching was in power, and the effects were mighty. A happy indifference to the privations of the woods, which to the refinements of fashionable camps would now be repelling, accounted from the human side for many a marvelous conversion.

By the year 1850 missionary operations began on a small scale in Liberia, and in 1852 home missionary enterprise was conducted in the then far West. By 1879 the Board of Foreign Missions, after correspondence with the Woman's

Union Missionary Society for Heathen Lands, had determined upon larger work, and organized missions in Japan. The success, however, of all its early labors is due to the inspiration received from the Woman's Missionary Society of the Church. Its first missionaries were women whom the Woman's Society equipped and financially sustained. This enterprise began in Pittsburg, and was the outgrowth of the efforts of leaders in Pittsburg, and the subsequent enlistment of others elsewhere, and especially women, in plans for organized work.

The formation of this society stirred up the denominational spirit, and as speedily as possible the Board of Missions dispatched the Rev. F. C. Klein to Yokohama. But before the Board of Missions were ready for work, and as early as 1873, certain ladies of Baltimore had formed auxiliaries in connection with the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and ladies in Pittsburg had similarly assisted a woman's society outside of the denomination.

The Woman's Society, with its allied societies in the Conference districts, has expended \$50,000 for its work, and raised for buildings in Japan \$10,000. They have sent out eight women into this empire of the Orient, and organized nineteen Conference "branches" and two hundred "auxiliaries." Both this and the Board of Missions are under General Conference control, but each raises money and conducts its operations independently of the other.

Of the four secretaries of the board the Rev. Dr. F. T. Tagg, of Maryland, for several years past editor of the Methodist Protestant, at Baltimore, has been the most distinguished. His ability in the pulpit, in debate, and in the collection of large sums of money aroused the Church and

created everywhere a zeal for missions. He was followed in the work by the Rev. Thomas A. Coulbourn, of Virginia, who, after a holy career in the ministry and abundant labors in the field, died in the secretaryship. Dr. T. J. Ogburn, of North Carolina, is the present incumbent. The receipts for

home missions for four consecutive years have been \$26,242, and for foreign missions during the same period \$52,260.

The Church, considering its numbers, has been prolific of great preachers, noted editors, essayists, judges, and statesmen. Among others, Augustus Webster, Washington Roby, Josiah Varden, A. A. Lipscomb, chancellor of the University of Georgia; Lawrence W. Bates, S. B. Southerland,



F. T. TAGG, D.D. Editor of the Methodist Protestant.

the Murrays, John J. and Joshua Thomas, D. L. Greenfield, T. H. Lewis, William Cowl, William Collier, W. S. Hammond, Theodore Valiant, and John M. Holmes may be named as leading lights of the pulpit. After one of the great sermons preached at a camp meeting by Augustus Webster a lady who had been much moved by the discourse presented him with a new coat, throwing the garment over his shoulders with the remark, "You warmed my heart, and I will now warm your back." E. Yates Reese, J. Thomas Murray, E. J. Drinkhouse, John Scott, and D. S. Stephens

have distinguished themselves in editorial work. Alexander Clarke was a brilliant writer, a captivating preacher, though suffering under the disadvantage of a very weak voice, a poet of some merit, as seen in his hymns, a popular author and lecturer, and for many years the able editor of The Recorder. Lipscomb was long editor of Harper's Magazine, and, with Stockton, a brilliant essayist. Philemon B. Hopper, F. H. Collier, and Benajah S. Bibb were all laymen of note; and Governor F. H. Pierpont, of West Virginia, and George Vickers, United States senator from Maryland, attained eminence in the Church. A layman and State senator, J. W. Hering, of Maryland, now holds the highest office in the Church, the presidency of the General Conference, and H. J. Heintz, of Pittsburg, has been a liberal contributor to the new university at Kansas City.

Educational interests as early as 1835 began to elicit thought and action. A theological institute was begun at New Windsor, under Francis Waters, and liberally supported by the Maryland Conference. But it soon perished. Waters then conducted at Franklin, Baltimore County, a preparatory training school for the itinerancy, but this likewise declined after a year or two. In Ohio a manual labor school, known as Dearborn College, was begun in 1836, under the oversight of this and the Pittsburg Conference. A farm was purchased, and the venerable Snethen became its head; but three years afterward all the buildings were burned and the enterprise was abandoned. Cambridge College, established by the Muskingum Conference in 1850, wrecked by a storm, and afterward burned while in process of rebuilding, was reluctantly given up. Madison College, at Uniontown, Pa., was tendered to the General Conference of 1850 by its trustees, but owing to the different views that prevailed between the Southern and Western branches of the Church, as well as to disputes between trustees and faculty who represented these sections, the institution collapsed after a period of seven



AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAFER GOVERNOR FRANCIS H. PIERPONT.

years. Lynchburg College, established in 1855 by the retiring faculty of Madison and eighty-seven of its students, fared no better. Allegheny Seminary, erected at Sharpsburg, Pa., in 1859, was subsequently united with Adrian College, Michigan.

The present schools are Adrian College, received from the Wesleyan Methodist Church; Western Maryland College, and Kansas City University. At Adrian, Mich., and Westminster, Md., where these colleges are located, theological seminaries are also in operation. The names of A. A. Lipscomb, George B. McElroy, D. S. Stephens, J. T. Ward,



BENEFACTORS OF KANSAS CITY UNIVERSITY.

SAMUEL FIELD MATHER, HENRY J. HEINTZ.

and Thomas H. Lewis have been in recent years the most conspicuous as presidents of colleges and universities and representatives of educational interest.

The Western Maryland College has had a career of almost unexampled success, and among all the colleges in Maryland stands easily at the head. Kansas City University has been but recently projected, having been founded by the liberality of S. F. Mather in 1895. It has a medical college in operation. Adrian has long demonstrated its usefulness to the cause of liberal scholastic and denominational training.

The official organs of the denomination are the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Recorder, the former published at Baltimore and the latter at Pittsburg. The series of graded Sunday school publications is vigorous and well edited, with a combined circulation of 144,861. The assets of the Book Room at Pittsburg are about \$100,000, and those of the Directory at Baltimore \$10,000. The receipts for ministerial education for the four years ending in May, 1896, were \$19,469, with which 44 beneficiaries were aided at the Westminster Seminary and 17 at Adrian.

The denomination now numbers 48 Annual Conferences, six of which are among colored people, one a mission in Japan and one a mission to the Chickasaws. It has 1,550 stationed preachers, 1,116 unstationed preachers, 179,092 full members, 4,624 probationers, or a total of 186,382 on its lists. Its churches number 2,341, valued at \$4,519,357; its parsonages, 484; its Sunday schools, 2,018, with 17,567 officers and teachers, and 107,490 pupils. Of Christian Endeavor societies there are 595, with a membership of 35,000.

Though long advocated in many quarters, the proposition to seat women in the General Conference has failed of the requisite number of votes in the Annual Conferences. T. B. Appleget, of New Jersey, and Drs. Flood and Stephens, of Illinois and Pittsburg, have earnestly championed the cause; and the opposition has been led by J. T. Murray, of Maryland.

The hymn book first used by the Methodist Protestants was one prepared by Thomas H. Stockton, who was possessed of much poetic taste. This was followed by one compiled by J. Varden, J. Murray, E. Reese, L. Martin, and E. G. Waters. The Northwestern branch used one edited by Alexander Clarke. The reunited Church not being able to agree on either of those used by the two branches, an

almost successful effort was made to adopt the Methodist Episcopal Hymnal, substituting the preface and ritual portions by those of the Methodist Protestants. This proposi-

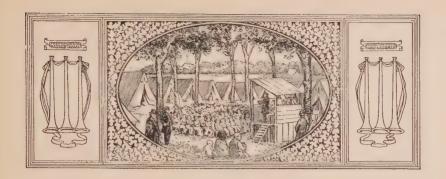


EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS.

Mather Hall, Kansas City University.

Metcalf Hall, Adrian College.

tion was abandoned because of the strong opposition of a minority, and The Voice of Praise, by Dr. Eben Tourgee, became the choice of the Church.



CHAPTER XC

Masterful Preachers

JOHN SUMMERFIELD.—HENRY B. BASCOM.—GEORGE G. COOKMAN.—WILBUR FISK.—STEPHEN OLIN.

MERICAN Methodism has been prolific of great preachers. While English Methodism had produced its Wesley, Whitefield, Benson, Watson, Clarke, Bunting, and Punshon, American Methodism reared also its great orators in the pulpit. Though excelled in scholarship by some of the older denominations, none produced more remarkable specimens of pulpit power than the Methodists. Their contact with life, their zeal and evangelical spirit, their popular style of address, with its extemporaneous and choice discourse, rendered them incomparable in their power of ecclesiastical oratory. Whitefield's eloquence, by its very example, became a priceless inheritance. McKendree, George, Brodhead, the Pierces, Bascom, Fisk, Olin, Cookman, and Maffitt were bright particular stars in the firmament of the Methodist pulpit.

John Summerfield was the first to attain universal fame. He had joined the Irish Conference in 1819 and came to America in 1821. Four years later he died. His brief career was a quadrennium of unbroken triumph. No analysis reveals the whole secret of his power. His style was chaste, his thought strong and elevated, but not extraordinary, and his manner colloquial. There was withal an indescribably sweet spirit of piety, which revealed a personality thoroughly



REV. JOHN SUMMERFIELD, A.M.

consecrated. His fame rests on the power of this personality rather than on original genius. Montgomery's estimate of him is well known: "Summerfield had intense animal feeling and much morbid imagination, but of poetic feeling and poetic imagination very little; at least there is very little

trace of either in anything he has left beyond a few vivid but momentary flashes in his sermons." Others would call "animal feeling" magnetism. His appearance was expressive of his character, and contributed not a little toward the effectiveness of his utterance. There was an angelic beauty in his face, when lighted up by his emotions, and his voice, though not strong, was expressive and eminently sympathetic. He was void of every artifice, and transparently natural. Yet, while his sermons were so easily delivered, they were laboriously prepared. His apparently ready extempore speech was really the result of arduous effort and study. Montgomery has marked the thoroughness of his preparation in nearly two hundred sketches. He was a thorough student of the Bible, and his speech a mosaic of pertinent texts. His climaxes frequently terminated in a fine biblical quotation. One, by merely reading his sermons, can form little estimate of their power when delivered. What Whitefield's dramatic power was to him the magnetic personality of Summerfield supplied for the latter.

Bethune's account of Summerfield's public appearance in this country well illustrates the alternate feelings of sympathy and wonder with which his auditors beyond the Methodist pale heard him. It was at the anniversary of the American Bible Society. An eminent clergyman had made an address which called forth applause. "The chair announced the Rev. Mr. Summerfield, from England. "What presumption!" said my clerical neighbor; "a boy like that to be set up after a giant." After a few preliminary words he sought to encourage the society by the example of the British organization. "When we first launched our untried vessel upon the deep the storms of opposition roared, and the waves dashed angrily around us, and we had hard work to keep her

to wind. We were faint with rowing, and our strength would soon have been gone, but we cried, "Lord, save us, or we perish!" when a light shone upon the waters, and we saw a form walking upon the troubled sea like unto that of the Son of God, and he drew near the ship, and we knew it was Jesus, and he stepped upon the deck, and he laid his hand upon



SUMMERFIELD MEMORIAL.

In John Street Church, where Summerfield preached his first sermon,

the helm, and said unto the winds and the waves, "Peace, be still," and there was a great calm. Let not the friends of the Bible fear. God is in the midst of us. God shall help us, and that right early.' In such a strain," continues Bethune, "he went on to the close. 'Wonderful! wonderful!' said my neighbor the critic; 'he talks like an angel from heaven.'"

A fatal disease spurred him to incessant labors and hastened his death. In 1825 he went up to his coronation. His last words were, "All's perfection! Good-night!" and he was gone.

different from Summerfield. He was strongly built, of a ruddy complexion, and possessed of an orotund and melodious voice. His manner was elaborate, and his studied effect was often too manifest. The hearer frequently felt that he was listening to a declamation and was tempted to criticism. In the popular mind, however, he excited wonder. His style was too ponderous for some; he lacked

the Saxon simplicity of Summerfield. He was a strange combination of excellences and defects. He was both logician and poet. Magnificent imagery, revealing an exuberant imagination, clothed his elaborate arguments. There was a Miltonic grandeur in many of his flights. All his periods were carefully studied and committed to memory,

and many were not closely related, a fact which often caused obscurity in the hearers' mind. His delivery was labored, and gave one the sense of great effort and lack of self-possession on his part. It was not unusual for him to walk the floor on Saturday night anxiously memorizing the Sabbath sermon. He not infrequently exceeded two hours in its delivery. Yet there was a majesty about him, when



BISHOP BASCOM'S MONUMENT.

In Eastern Cemetery, Louisville, Ky.

untrammeled, which reminded one of a lofty mountain, broken, however, by crags and cliffs; rugged and strong if not symmetrical. He was self-educated, but attained to the professorial chair, became a college president, and through Henry Clay's influence, who regarded him as the most eloquent man he had ever heard, was elected chaplain to Congress. He became later a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and died in 1850. His nature was generous and frank. Bishop Andrew said of him: "A warmer heart and more noble feelings beat not in the

bosom of mortals; there was a spring of kindest affection there which never ran dry."

The ill-fated President bore George G. Cookman to a



GEORGE G. COOKMAN.

Sometime chaplain of the Senate of the United States.

watery grave. By a sudden catastrophe he vanished from among men in the prime of his powers, when the star of his fame was at its zenith. He was born in 1800 at Hull, England, and when in America, as a young man, felt it was his

duty to preach. Some years after his return to England he came back to America and in 1826 joined the Philadelphia Conference. He labored during the remainder of his life with great success in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and in Washington. He was slight of person, but strong, and capable of great endurance. His eye was brilliant, his



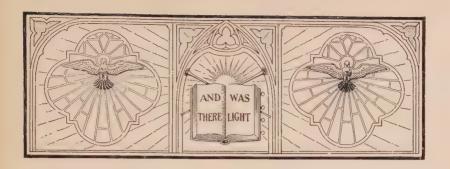
DRAWN BY P. F. FLINTOFF

THE CHURCH, NEW ATHENS, O., IN WHICH MATTHEW SIMPSON PREACHED HIS FIRST SERMON.

features thin, and his arms long, giving to his gestures a peculiar effect. In the excitement of address every fiber in his being was instinct with action. He was peerless on the platform. All his powers were brought forth, and he moved his audiences at will. Dazzling images, satire, argument, wit, and pathos in turn brought forth tears, laughter, or silent awe as his masterful hand swept the chords of popular feeling. If he seemed boisterous, it was because like a mighty wind that bends the oaks he swept onward in his oratorical triumph. His voice possessed a musical distinctness as clear as a silver bell. At camp meetings he was an imperial figure. He was the hero on such occasions. His chaplaincy of Congress was peculiarly successful, and he was a universal favorite. He awoke many in that body to seek a

better life. There was a martial and chivalrous spirit in him which made his assaults on error peculiarly vigorous. He possessed to a wonderful degree the allegorizing power of Bunyan. Notable examples were the "Mission Ship," in his famous address at the Baltimore Conference in 1829; the "Widow and Her Daughter," in an address in 1831; and the personification of "Liberalism," in an address at New York in 1832. On March 11, 1841, he embarked on the ill-fated President for England and men heard his voice no more.

Wilbur Fisk and Stephen Olin are among the most honored names of the American pulpit. Each was an eloquent exponent of the truth, and the hearing which they received and their broad influence throughout the Church were ample proof that American Methodism of their day was now ready to enter upon the large field of higher education, to which these men, by their example and the work to which they had been called, were inviting its younger and all later generations.



CHAPTER XCI

The Spiritual Side of Methodism

Mystical Strain in Methodism.—Asbury's Example.—Higher Education Not Emphasized at First in America.—The Warm Devotional Spirit.—Removals at General Conferences.—Quarterly and Camp Meetings Occasions of Great Spiritual Demonstrations.—The Popular Reading.—Singing.—Final Shouts of Victory.

It has ever been the fault of history that it has restricted itself to Parliaments and armies, to court intrigues and the deeds of the great. Its function is far broader. It should describe the thought, the belief, and the sorrow of the people. Their religion, literature, and education fill a larger place in the real life of a people than military enterprise or political strife. The history of Methodism cannot be fully told if our narrative be confined to the formal part of its life, such as Conferences and the public career of preachers. Its intensest life went out far beyond ecclesiastical institutions and official circles. It was in the gatherings of the people, in great religious assemblies, in private life, and in death itself that its heart of hearts was made known. Its spiritual side is of first importance in any real estimate of its character.

There is an element of mysticism in Methodism. It has always accompanied reactions against rationalism and spiritual death. The mystic believes God is accessible to the soul in other ways than by the mind. With the Quietists, the Pietists, and the Quakers the Methodists gave a distinct emphasis to the spiritual side of their natures. Sometimes it was even at the expense of the mortification of the bodily powers. The ascetic spirit which in the Middle Ages had lurked in cell and cloister came forth again, though in a milder and more rational form. The sackcloth, the scourge, the hair shirt, which in former time the flagellant or monk employed to "keep under" his body, gave place in the Methodist to fasting and abstinence, whose practice was required of members and preachers alike.

The very garb, in the earliest Methodist period, proclaimed the sect. Members were excluded or suspended for "marriage with unawakened persons," thus literally observing the Scripture command to "be not unequally yoked with unbelievers."

Asbury was an ascetic in spirit as truly as John of the Cross. His practices were heroic, and his frail body was frequently in sore straits from its hard usage. He urged it to its extremes of endurance, and paid small heed to its cries for help. Fasting, lack of food in his long journeys, disease, and medicine made him a physical wreck. Richmond Nolley, the martyr of Louisiana, died on his fast day, his weakness no doubt increased by his abstinence. Asbury sought to keep the preachers poor. He dreaded the effect of large salaries. When one of his preachers was called to fill Pilmoor's vacant Episcopal pulpit in Philadelphia he uttered a covert sarcasm on the power of money. The terrible sufferings of the early itinerants and their premature location grew

out of this fault, as Bangs justly calls this trait in Asbury's character. The preachers sometimes boasted of their independence, and rather urged the people not to give. The General Conference found great difficulty in creating a sense of responsibility for the support of the suffering itinerants and their families.

This same ascetic spirit manifested itself in the architecture and worship of the time. Plainness was the prime requisite in all things, whether in the plan of the meetinghouse, the order of service, or the shape of the poke bonnet. The spirit that abhorred silver knee buckles or fancy attire of any sort was opposed also to steeples and—horror of horrors!—to bells in them and pews for the hearers. Asbury often drew his own plans for the houses of worship, and they were plain enough, as the surviving types of the time show us. William Capers was accosted by a good brother:

- "O, Brother Capers, how I love you!" he exclaimed. "I love to hear you preach; I love to hear you meet class; I love you anyhow. But O them galluses! Won't you pull them off?"
 - "Pull them off, my brother! For what?"
- "O, they make you look so worldly! and I know you ain't worldly neither; but do pull them off."

And he pulled them off, and provided a substitute more in harmony with the asceticism of his day.

It was no doubt due to this same spirit that education was not more highly esteemed before the days of Fisk, Bangs, and the great educators. Asbury rather feared an excessive education for the ministry. He seems to have lost courage after the burning of the two Cokesbury colleges in Maryland. That he really appreciated learning, however, is shown in his own example as a student. But it is evident that the

fathers esteemed higher than all else the experimental and spiritual side of Christianity. Their deep piety, heroic effort, and profound common sense made many of them mighty in spite of their meager opportunities for a literary education. It must not be forgotten, however, that rare opportunities had not been wanting to many Methodist leaders. Dickins had been an Eton student; John King had studied at Oxford; Beauchamp, George Dougharty, Soule, Ruter, and Bangs were splendid students throughout their lives; while Fisk, Emory, and Capers were college graduates. Through them alone the renaissance of letters should remove the reproach of ignorance from the Church.

The devotional element in religious life was strongly developed. The Conferences were not, as now, devoted exclusively to business. To the popular mind they were occasions of deep religious interest. Henry Boehm, in his Reminiscences, gives us glimpses of the spiritual side of the General Conferences of 1800 and 1808. At the former session there was an extensive revival, the members of the body passing over to Old Town and singing along the streets. "At a prayer meeting at John Chalmer's house," it is stated, "twenty-four were converted." Like awakenings were repeated at several other places. On the Sabbath when Coke preached the ordination sermon of Whatcoat Jesse Lee proclaimed salvation at the market house on Howard Hill and several persons were converted. He says, "The people wept and roared aloud." Asbury estimated that over one hundred-and Whatcoat not less than two hundred—were converted during the session of the Conference.

Boehm gives a detailed account of the services of May 8, 1808: "George Pickering preached in the market place, and three preachers exhorted after him. At half-past ten Wil-

liam McKendree preached from 'Is there no balm in Gilead?' In the afternoon Stith Mead preached at Old Town, and then Bishop Asbury to a great crowd at the opening of the Eutaw Street Church. There was preaching three times a day in the Light Street Church, and throughout the week, and every night at the four other churches."

The quarterly meetings were no less remarkable for their spiritual power. They were sometimes called "bush meetings," having every mark of the camp meeting except that they continued for a shorter time. Scores, and even hundreds, were converted on these occasions. It was, however, at the camp meetings of the West that the tide of religious fervor reached its flood. The story of these mighty assemblies reads like a romance. They swept like a flame of fire from the west, leaping the mountains and communicating their spirit to many large communities.

But it is in the lives of individuals, as revealed by their diaries and private devotions, that we learn the intensity of the spiritual life of the Methodism of that day. The journals of Asbury, Lee, Watters, Garrettson, and McKendree are the breathings of souls panting after God. McKendree, having reached his appointment a little in advance of the hour, retired to the forest. His diary contains the following: "Being already at my preaching place since eight o'clock, I have been with Jesus in this beautiful forest in deep exercise. My book is sweeter than common. O what spirit I find in the word of the Lord! I read it much and with great delight, often on my knees. I take my flight on wings of faith and love, still mounting higher to the celestial world. One half hour humbly prostrate on my face to converse with the Eternal! And such deep views and bright conceptions of eternal things I never had before in all my life. But I

must go. The congregation is assembled and my watch says eight minutes of twelve o'clock. Farewell, sweet and solemn place! Lord Jesus, go with me, Amen! Amen!" Could such a spirit fail?

The reading of the people and of the preachers was extensive, and largely of a devotional type. Thomas à Kempis, Baxter's Saint's Rest, Law's works and Wesley's Sermons were in the saddlebags of the preachers and in the scanty libraries of the people. The thoughts of the Methodist people were often phrased in scriptural nomenclature. The prayers were fervent, and often expressed in language from the earlier Methodist writers.

In nothing was the grandeur of Methodism more evident than in its power of song. Congregational singing perhaps never reached a higher stage. The organ and the choir were not yet in vogue, but the people sang "with the spirit and with understanding." The great volume of song, which pouring forth from ten thousand throats went far out from the camp ground and reechoed among the hills, seemed to bring heaven and earth together. The magnificent hymns of Charles Wesley never had more spirited rendition. With such fervor of spiritual life it was impossible to escape some extravagances. Shouting, jumping, and various physical excesses crept in, often to the injury of the work. It required a firm hand to suppress such disorders, for some identified these exhibitions of a physical nature with the spiritual life of which they were supposed to be the outcome.

The doctrine of Christian perfection was more generally taught in the first half of the century than since. Francis Asbury, on his last rounds, preached almost exclusively on entire sanctification. Nearly every biography and journal records the experience of the "second blessing." In the sta-

tistics of camp meetings and revivals there were always reported, in addition to the number of conversions, those who were sanctified. Yet on questions of temperance, slavery, lotteries, and other problems which have largely received their solution there was not as distinct conviction as might have been expected. It is a proof of the progressive nature of morals. Life on such a high plane had the promise of a serene death. It had become a proverb that the Methodists died well. The deathbeds of the saints were occasions of spiritual power. Wesley had set a good example in dying with the words upon his lips, "The best of all is, God is with us." McKendree's last words were the sentry call, "All is well." In life they sang:

No foot of land do I possess, Nor cottage in this wilderness; A poor wayfaring man. I lodge a while in tents below, Or gladly wander to and fro Till I my Canaan gain.

In death the triumph came. The obituaries record how the Methodists "died, overwhelmed with the sense and presence of God." "His happiness seemed to increase with his illness, and he cried as he passed away, 'I have lost sight of the world; come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Another "departed in peace," and another "died in confident peace, triumphant faith, and the smiles of a present God." The last words of many were "Glory! glory!" One declared, "The fear of death and hell is wholly taken away, and I have hope of immortality." A triumphant saint exclaimed, "I am now going to my eternal home; I know that my Redeemer liveth."

When Chandler was dying he bade his friends go to the service then in progress and tell the people, "I am dying,

shouting the praises of God." To his wife he said, "Mary, open the window and let me proclaim to the people in the streets the goodness of God." He was so happy he said, "I do not know whether I am in the body or out of it." Such were the commonplaces which have come down to us through the memoirs of the great leaders of the first generations of American Methodists.



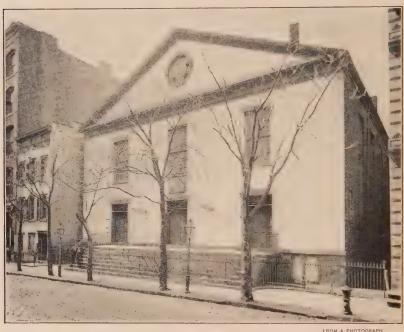
CHAPTER XCII

The Great Division

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.—AGITATION ON SLAVERY.—THE HARDING APPEAL, — BALTIMORE CONFERENCE SUSTAINED, — COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT PACIFICATION.—FASTING AND PRAYER.— COMMITTEE CANNOT AGREE.—THE ANDREW CASE.—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EPISCOPACY.—DR. BOND'S DENIAL.—GRIFFITH'S RESOLUTION.—THE FINLEY SUBSTITUTE.—GIANTS IN DEBATE.—OLIN'S MATCHLESS ELOQUENCE.—BISHOP ANDREW'S ADDRESS.—BISHOPS SUGGEST POST-PONEMENT.—THEIR PLAN REJECTED.—VOTE TAKEN.—FINLEY SUBSTITUTE ADOPTED.

Church, which assembled in the Greene Street Church, New York city, on May 1, 1844, and continued in session until the morning of June 11, was most memorable on account of the distinguished men comprising the body, the gravity of the questions, and the sad separation which ensued. It had been hoped the enactment of the General Conference of 1840 on the subject of slavery would pacify both sections of the Church, but there was disappointment. The General Conference appointed a special committee on slavery, to which were referred the numerous petitions, memorials, and resolutions on the subject. Other events precipitated the inevitable conflict. On May 7 the appeal of Francis A. Harding, of the Baltimore Conference, came up

for discussion. William A. Smith represented Harding and John A. Collins the Baltimore Conference, whose record showed that Harding had been suspended from the ministry for refusing to manumit certain slaves with which he had by a recent marriage become possessed; such suspension to be



GREENE STREET CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY. In which the memorable General Conference of 1844 was held,

in force for one year, or until he assured the episcopacy that he had taken the necessary steps to secure the freedom of his slaves.

A four days' debate ensued. Smith and Collins were young men of great vigor and were thoroughly trained in debate. Smith alleged that Harding had refused to comply with the demands of the Conference on the following grounds:

By the nature of the laws of the State of Maryland he did not become the owner of the slaves. They belonged to his wife. That, if it were not so, the Maryland laws did not permit the liberated slave to enjoy liberty, and that therefore, under the rule of Discipline, he was not required to comply with the condition; the pledge was impracticable, and contrary to the rule of Discipline. Finally, it would be in its practical results inhuman, because the demand, if carried out, would separate parents and children without the consent of the slaves. He cited opinions of celebrated jurists touching Maryland law, and quoted the disciplinary rule on slavery enacted in 1840.

To Smith's lengthy and eloquent argument Collins replied, denying that the laws of Maryland forbade manumission; recited the laws of 1831, which specifically demonstrated how slaves could be manumitted; and alleged that Harding, in view of the fact that slaves could safely be freed in Maryland, had violated the Discipline. He positively asserted that the Discipline was opposed to slavery. Brief speeches were made by Henry Slicer, Alfred Griffith, and Thomas B. Sargent, all of the Baltimore Conference.

John Early, of Virginia, offered the following resolution: "Resolved, that the action of the Baltimore Annual Conference, by which F. A. Harding was suspended from his ministerial functions, be, and the same is hereby, reversed." The vote stood, nays 117, yeas 56. Bishop Morris, presiding, decided that this vote virtually affirmed the action of the Baltimore Conference. William Capers appealed from this decision, but the chair was sustained by a vote of 111 to 53.

On May 14 William Capers and Stephen Olin offered the following resolution: "Resolved, that a committee of three from the North and three from the South be appointed to

confer with the bishops, and report within two days as to the possibility of adopting some plan, and what, for the permanent pacification of the Church." The resolution, amended so as to provide for a committee of six without defining the sections from which they were to be selected, was adopted. Capers, of the South Carolina Conference; Olin, of the New York; Winans, of the Mississippi; Early, of the Virginia; Hamline, of the Ohio; and Crandall, of the New England, were selected as the committee.

On motion of John P. Durbin, the following day was set apart as a day of fasting and humiliation before God, and prayer for his blessing on the committee of six in conjunction with the bishops in their consultations.

On Saturday, May 18, Bishop Soule, on behalf of his episcopal colleagues and the committee of six, reported that they were unable to agree upon any plan of compromise to reconcile the views of the Northern and Southern Conferences. On the following Monday the following preamble and resolution, offered by John A. Collins and James B. Houghtaling, were adopted: "Whereas it is currently reported, and generally understood, that one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church has become connected with slavery; and whereas it is due to this General Conference to have a proper understanding of the matter; therefore, Resolved, that the Committee on the Episcopacy be instructed to ascertain the facts in the case, and report the results of their investigations to this body to-morrow morning."

The committee reported the next morning, but consideration of the report was postponed to permit the holding of separate private meetings of the Northern and Southern delegates. A communication from Dr. Thomas E. Bond, replying to a rumor that he was the authority for the report

that the Northern delegates had formed a plan to force the Southern delegates into secession, increased the excitement. Dr. Bond said that the prevailing sentiment East, North, and West was that secession would be a "great calamity—a calamity that ought to be averted by any sacrifice consistent with duty to God and the interests of the Church." "O sir," said he, "if it shall please God to raise the cloud which now rests upon this ark, the day which has wrought out for us this deliverance will be a day of public jubilee; every returning anniversary will be a day of joy and thanksgiving in my family, and I shall be glad to tell of the great deliverance that God has wrought out for us to my children and grandchildren."

On May 22 the report of the Committee on the Episcopacy was taken up. The committee reported that Bishop Andrew had frankly and fully acknowledged the fact that by inheritance and by marriage he had become connected with slavery, but according to the laws of the State of Georgia he could not manumit his slaves; that he had neither bought nor sold a slave; that in the only circumstances in which he was legally a slaveholder emancipation was impracticable. As to the servants owned by his wife he denied legal responsibility, and alleged his wife's inability to emancipate them. Alfred Griffith and John Davis, both of the Baltimore Conference, offered a paper which, after reciting the facts that Bishop Andrew had become connected with slavery, that under such circumstances it would be impossible for him to exercise the functions and perform the duties of a general superintendent with acceptance, resolved, "That the Rev. James O. Andrew be, and he is hereby, affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

A debate continuing through several days followed; whereupon, on May 23, J. B. Finley offered a substitute: "Resolved, that it is the sense of this General Conference that



FROM T. B. WELCH'S ENGRAVING AFTER A DAGUERREOTYPE.

JAMES OSGOOD ANDREW.

Ninth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; born 1794, died 1871; consecrated 1832; withdrew to become bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1846.

he [Bishop Andrew] desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains."

It was supposed to be milder in its preamble and in its provisions, but the discussion which followed was one of remarkable scope. It began on May 23 and continued until the final adoption of the resolution on June 1.



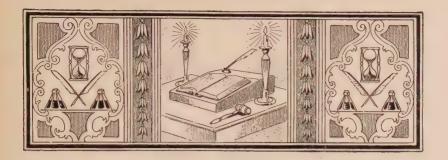
AFTER THE ENGRAVING BY J. C. BUTTRE, WILLIAM A. SMITH, D.D.

One of the Southern leaders in the great debate of 1844; president of Randolph-Macon College, 1846-1866.

Stephen Olin, a native of Vermont, for some time an educator in the South, but now the president of Wesleyan University, made a speech which for conservatism and tender appeal touched all hearts. W. A. Smith, who had defended

Harding earlier in the session, made a lengthy argument opposing the Finley substitute. Drake, Slicer, Crandall, Cass, G. F. Pierce, Longstreet, J. T. Peck, A. L. P. Green, Hamline, Comfort, Collins, Finley, Winans, Cartwright, Capers, Dunwoody, Bishop Soule, Durbin, George Peck, and Blake also took part in the great debate. On May 28 Bishop Andrew addressed the Conference, reiterating his statements already made to the Committee on Episcopacy, declaring his love for and devotion to the slaves, and denying that he was unacceptable in every section of the North, and making no sign of an intention to recede from his position.

An attempt was made on this day by J. B. Finley to close the debate, but was ruled out of order. On the 29th, after Bishop Soule had spoken, the rules were suspended and provision made for closing the debate by the "previous question." On the 30th a call for the previous question failed, and, on the suggestion of Bishop Hedding, the afternoon session was omitted in order that the bishops might have opportunity to consult on the perils of the situation. The following morning the bishops recommended a postponement of a decision either way until the next General Conference, the bishops arranging that meanwhile Bishop Andrew's work should be in sections of the country where he would be acceptable. On June 1 Bishop Hedding withdrew his name from the paper. The recommendation of the bishops was laid on the table by a vote of 95 to 84. The vote on the Finley substitute was thereupon taken, and adopted by a vote of 110 ayes and 68 noes.



CHAPTER XCIII

The Southern Host

FUTILE EFFORTS FOR COMPROMISE.—TWO GENERAL CONFERENCES PROPOSED.—DECLARATION OF SOUTHERN DELEGATES.—THE PROTEST.—THE "PLAN OF SEPARATION."—SOUTHERN DELEGATES MEET.—THE HOT WAR OF THE PRESS.—THE COURSE TAKEN BY BISHOPS SOULE AND ANDREW.

A T midnight on June 10, 1844, after one of the greatest debates ever heard in any ecclesiastical assembly in this country, the General Conference adjourned. No representative body of any Church had ever been confronted with problems demanding a keener perception to discover the right and expedient, or calling for more of courage, conciliation, and breadth of view. The resources were unusually abundant. Of the one hundred and eighty-six delegates a large number were "mighty men of renown." Thirteen subsequently became bishops. Besides those there were present Nathan Bangs, Peter Akers, George Peck, John P. Durbin, Charles Elliott, William Winans, Lovick Pierce, and William A. Smith.

The conflicting forces acted as if convinced that the culminating hour on the treatment of the slavery question in the Church had arrived. For eleven days logic, wit, sarcasm, and impassioned oratory were wielded by combatants who

sincerely believed that they contended for a principle dearer than life. It gradually became evident more to the Southern than to the Northern delegates that the vote of June 1 on Bishop Andrew would split into fragments the original



PAINTED BY PINE.

ENGRAVED BY HALPIN.

PETER AKERS, D.D.

First president of McKendree College; a leading member of the General Conference of 1844.

ences to suspend constitutional restrictions so as to form two General Conferences, which should meet quadrennially, one at some place in the South, the other in the free States; each to have its own bishops, and make its own rules and regulations. The proceeds of the Book Room were to be divided among the Annual Conferences as heretofore." This plan was

Methodist Episcopal Church. Instead, therefore, of seeking to hold together the disintegrating forces, the further efforts were employed to devise some amicable and equitable division of the vexed question of Church property and jurisdiction in case of separation. Accordingly, on June 3, Capers presented resolutions "recommending the Annual Conferreferred to a committee of nine, consisting of Capers, Winans, Crowder, Akers, Porter, Filmore, Hamline, Davis, and Sandford. As indicating the sentiment which prevailed in the course of the committee's lengthened discussion, one incident may be recalled. Hamline was asked for his opinion on the proposed division. "Brethren," said he, "my opinion is that you cannot divide. The moment you do so you forfeit all the Church property now deeded and held in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Winans said, "Brother Hamline, you have told us what we cannot do; will you tell us what we can do?" "Brethren," he replied, "you can secede; nothing else." Winans replied: "That is true; I see it; but I hope you will not call us seceders." "I will not," was Hamline's reply. The committee found the plan unconstitutional, reported it impracticable, and returned their papers to the Conference.

Two days afterward, on June 5, fifty-one Southern delegates united in a declaration which claimed that "the agitation on slavery and the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew rendered a continuance of the jurisdiction of that General Conference over the Southern Conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States." This declaration, having been presented by A. Longstreet, was referred to a committee with instructions that, if they could not adjust the existing difficulties, they should inquire whether there could be devised a constitutional plan for dividing the funds of the Church. The declaration repudiating the jurisdiction of the General Conference was followed next day by a protest couched in notably strong language. It was read by Bascom, signed by sixty delegates, and presented on behalf of seventeen Annual Conferences, embracing five thousand ministers, traveling and local,

and about five hundred thousand members. In it occur the significant words, "The South cannot submit, and the absolute necessity of division is already dated."

Toward that consummation events moved rapidly forward.



LEONIDAS LENT HAMLINE, D.D.
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844-1852; editor of the
Ladies' Repository, 1840-1844.

An elaborate report, known as the "Report on the Declaration," but styled by the Conference reporter "The Plan of Separation," was presented on June 7, and after minor amendments was, with the preamble, adopted on June 8. It indi-

cated a boundary line, arranged for border societies to choose their position, recommended to the Annual Conferences a change of the sixth restrictive rule, provided for the division of the assets of the Book Concern, and resolved that all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church "within the limits of the Southern organization shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises."

The condition upon which these pledges were made contingent was indicated thus: "should the Annual Conferences in the slaveholding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection."

A committee, consisting of Olin, Durbin, and Hamline, was appointed to prepare a reply to the protest presented by Bascom. Olin was excused from serving on account of ill health, and Hamline in consequence of his election to the episcopacy, and George Peck and Charles Elliott were substituted. The reply went over familiar ground, but gave emphasis to two opinions: the unconstitutionality of division, and the impossibility of tolerating a slaveholding bishop. In response to questions raised by the bishops the Conference decided that "the name of Bishop Andrew remain on the Hymnal, Minutes, and Discipline as heretofore; that the rule as to the support of a bishop and his family applied to him; and that whether in any and in what work he be employed is to be determined by his own decision and action in relation to the previous action of this Conference in his case."

The student of this long and exciting session, plodding his way through such records of its doings as have come down to us, experiences a glad relief as he comes to one brief space wherein calmness, devotion, and unanimity took the place of

angry debate. This was the election and consecration of two bishops—Hamline and Janes. The former had acquired connectional fame as an eminent preacher, a successful editor, and an able ecclesiastical jurist. The latter was the last



CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D.

Editor Western Christian Advocate, 1840-1848; 1852-1856; editor Central Christian Advocate, 1860-1864.

bishop to receive the vote of the original undivided Methodist Episcopal Church, and the youngest man ever elected to that office. He had never been a member of a General Conference, had occupied a position which shielded him from controversy, was equally acceptable to North and South, and was recognized as possessing marked fitness for the position. These two leaders came to the front at an opportune time to meet the demands of a critical juncture in the history of American Methodism.

The actual separation of the South was inaugurated by the Southern delegates at a meeting held in New York immediately after the adjournment of the General Conference. They formed the plan to separate, and proceeded to carry it into effect. A convention was appointed to meet at Louisville, Ky., on May I, 1845. The Southern Conferences were directed to send delegates thither, in the ratio of one delegate for every eleven members. An address to ministers and members in the Southern States was also issued and widely distributed.

When this action became known these who coincided with the majority in the case of Bishop Andrew regarded it as a step toward forcing a division of the Church. If the debate as carried on in General Conference was marked by ability and thoroughness, not less must be conceded to the controversy waged in the Church papers. Unhappily it yields more material for the bitterness of regret than for the pleasure of memory.

Grave fears were entertained that if the separation took place it would prove the entering wedge to the division and overthrow of the republic. As eminent a statesman as Henry Clay, in a letter to W. A. Booth, wrote: "Division would be an event greatly to be deplored because of its political tendency. Scarcely any public occurrence has happened for a long time that gave me so much real concern and pain as this menaced separation. I will not say that it would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these

States, but the example would be fraught with imminent danger, and, in cooperation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the confederacy would be perilous and alarming."

The Methodists of the North proposed various measures



EDMUND STORER JANES, D.D.

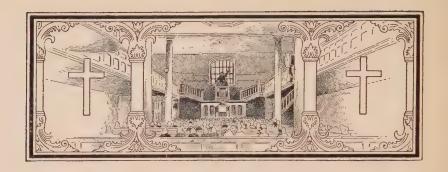
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844-1876; financial secretary of the American Bible Society, 1841-1843.

to avert disruption. One was to have the Canada or British Wesleyan Conference arbitrate the points in dispute. Another was to omit the section on slavery from the Discipline, and enact that no minister connected with slavery or who was an abolitionist be eligible to the episcopacy. It was also proposed to submit the whole matter to the decision of commissioners to be appointed by conventions made up of lay and clerical

delegates of the whole Church in the North and the South. But it was now too late, the door to compromise being closed.

When the Board of Bishops met in New York at the close of the General Conference to plan their work for the next quadrennium, as Bishop Andrew was not present and had not communicated his intentions, no work was assigned him. It was agreed, however, that in case he should write requesting a portion of the general oversight his request should be acceded to. To meet this contingency a reserved plan was prepared and intrusted to Bishop Soule for safe-keeping. No application was received. In September Bishop Soule invited Bishop Andrew to meet him at the Virginia Conference at Lynchburg, on November 13, and arrange to assist him at all the Southern Conferences of that year.

Whatever the ultimate effect of the separation, these and many unhappy incidents of the controversy could not fail to yield some sad results for the time being. Ecclesiastical friends became foes. The piety of multitudes suffered in the strife. While strength and energy were employed in battling with each other aggressive work was permitted to languish. And so the year closed—with a decrease of 31,769 members.



CHAPTER XCIV

Friction Following Fraction

THE LOUISVILLE CONVENTION.—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.—BOUNDARY TROUBLES.—ACTION OF BISHOPS.—BISHOP SOULE AND THE OHIO CONFERENCE.—DISTURBANCE IN KANAWHA DISTRICT.—PORTIONS OF BALTIMORE AND PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCES AGITATED.

A RAY of light falling on a photographer's plate produces chemical changes which nothing can undo. The nail driven into a tree may be successfully extracted, but the scar it has made will remain. In a religious body differences cannot develop into division without attendant and lingering evils. When each party is thoroughly conscientious and believes that the principles for which it contends are necessary to the glory of God and the prosperity of the Church, an earnest struggle must ensue. Both Northern and Southern delegates were swayed by only the highest motives.

The chief interest of the year following the General Conference of 1844 centered in the convention which met at Louisville, Ky., on May 1, 1845. This body consisted of delegates from all the Southern Conferences. All the bishops were invited, but only three—Soule, Andrew, and Morris—attended. Morris declined to preside at any of its sessions.

The convention lasted until May 19. On this date the exhaustive report presented by the committee on organization was adopted. The vote to adopt it stood 90 affirmative, 2 negative, 5 absent. All connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church was declared dissolved; the Southern Conferences constituted into a separate ecclesiastical organization under the style and title of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Bishops Soule and Andrew were requested to unite with and become its regular bishops, the latter accepting and the former deferring his acceptance; and a General Conference was called to meet in the town of Petersburg, Va., on May 1, 1846. This extended and historic document closed with words which deserve to be echoed and reechoed so long as these two great branches of a common Methodism remain separate: "Resolved, that while we cannot abandon or compromise the principles of action upon which we proceed to a separate organization in the South; nevertheless, cherishing a sincere desire to maintain Christian union and fraternal intercourse with the Church North, we shall always be ready kindly and respectfully to entertain, and duly and carefully consider, any proposition or plan having for its object the union of the two great bodies in the North and South."

The convention issued a pastoral address to ministers and members in the Southern and border Conferences. On the day of adjournment a communication was received from Bishop Soule stating that he had decided to carry out the official plan of episcopal visitation as settled by the bishops in New York until the General Conference should meet at Petersburg. The Louisville convention decided that border societies within the limits of the Conferences represented at the convention should be understood as adhering to the South unless they saw fit to take other action in the matter.

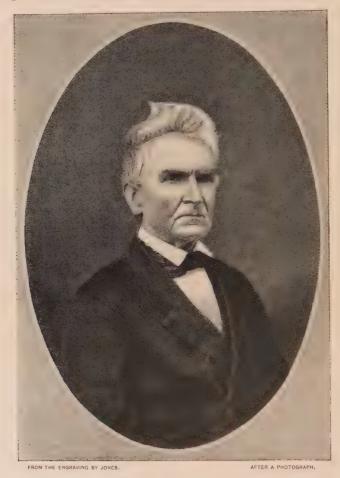
On July 3, fourteen days after the Louisville convention, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in New York, and was attended by Hedding, Waugh, Morris, and Ianes. Bishop Hamline sent his opinion in writing on the points to be acted upon by his colleagues, and was therefore accounted as present. It was agreed that the bishops would not preside in Conferences embraced in the Southern organization, and a new plan of visitation was prepared. No opinion was expressed as to whether separation was right or wrong, or as to whether the contemplated exigency had actually arisen. The prerogatives of the General Conferences were not infringed, although, in effect, the separation was recognized as an accomplished fact. Some maintained that the bishops should have gone firmly forward and have held or attempted to hold the Southern Conferences, and thus have kept up the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church even in the very heart of the South. To have done so in the face of the existing feeling would have been physically impossible, not to say unconstitutional and useless.

If the tide of feeling ran high in the South, a glance at Bishop Soule's case will suffice to show that the North also was deeply agitated. No action had been taken at the special meeting of the bishops to release him from the plan of visitation adopted in 1844. This gave him three Northern Conferences to preside over during the remainder of the year 1845. These were Illinois, Iowa, and Black River, all of which were unrepresented in the Louisville convention, and known to be opposed to its leading measures. But his presiding at the Louisville convention, his approval of its acts, and his avowed intention to join the new Church at its first General Conference had created widespread dissatisfaction among the Methodist public in the Northern States. Of this

he was well aware. Accordingly he wrote Bishop Morris requesting him to take charge of the Conferences named. He had reached a point where he was regarded as having voluntarily withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Hostility to Bishop Soule's proposed plan to exercise jurisdiction over both bodies reached a culmination at the Ohio Conference which convened on September 3, 1845. This Conference embraced some of the strongest men in the connection. Bishop Soule was to be present as visiting bishop. Courtesy required he should be asked to preside at some session. The delegates determined they would not act under his presidency in the smallest particular, lest they should thereby admit his jurisdiction as legitimate. Three members -Wright, Raper, and Marlay-waited on him the day before the Conference met and used their best efforts to dissuade him from carrying out his avowed purpose. He replied that a principle was involved and duty compelled him to occupy the chair. Next morning the members of the Conference assembled in the yard, but refused to enter the church until they knew who should preside. After Bishop Soule's arrival they received assurance that he would not take the chair. They entered. Bishop Soule conducted the opening exercises. The moment he had concluded, and before any motion could be made, Rev. Jacob Young proposed to offer a resolution. An effort was made to defer it until some other matter could be attended to. Strong protests followed, and the resolution was offered. It declared, "That while the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church would treat the bishops of the South with due courtesy and respect, yet it would be inexpedient and highly improper for them to preside in said Conferences." Bishop Soule refused to put this question and a scene of confusion ensued. Bishop Hamline

eventually interposed, and by a masterly effort succeeded in calming the tumult. Under his presidency the resolution

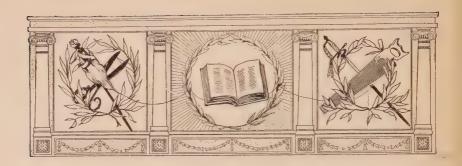


MICHAEL MARLAY, D.D.

A leading figure in Ohio Methodism,

was passed by a vote of 145 to 7. It was understood that the principle for which the bishop contended was the acceptance of his presidency by a Northern Conference. This, it was claimed, would have recognized his previous career and the acts of the Louisville convention as in harmony with the Plan of Separation, and also have furnished a precedent which would weigh with other Conferences; but the experiment failed.

Agitation over the border line began after the Louisville convention of 1845. It grew until the energies of both branches of the Church became concentrated over it. Later generations will find much to wonder at and not a little to deplore in the intense and protracted struggle which ensued. The line which marked off the separated Conferences was one thousand two hundred miles in extent. On the northern border of the new organization were the Baltimore, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Ohio, and Illinois Conferences. These penetrated more or less south of the line into the States of Kentucky, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri. The Plan of Separation ignored State lines in fixing necessary boundaries. Societies in slave States, along the border, could identify themselves with North or South by a majority vote; those lying one pastoral charge distant from the border were to remain intact.



CHAPTER XCV

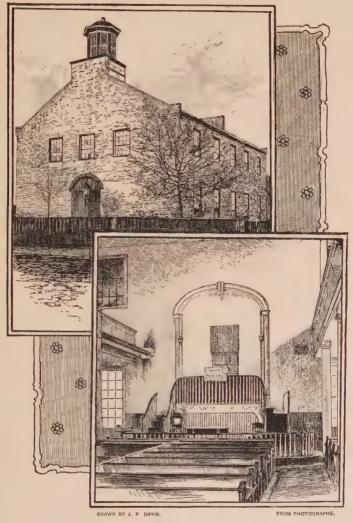
Dividing the Property

THE PETERSBURG GENERAL CONFERENCE.—THE QUESTION OF DIVIDENDS.
—LOVICK PIERCE AT PITTSBURG.—JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS ON THE BOOK CONCERN.

HE first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in Petersburg, Va., May 1, 1846, Bishops Andrew and Soule presiding. Bishop Andrew had identified himself with the Church South at the Louisville convention the previous year, but Bishop Soule had delayed his formal declaration to adhere to the South until this Conference.

Eighty-seven delegates were present, a large proportion of whom had been members of the General Conference of 1844. They formally recognized their organization as "based upon the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, comprehending the doctrines and entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations of said Discipline, except so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization." Two new bishops were elected—William Capers and Robert Paine. Henry B. Bascom, A. L. P. Green, and S. A. Latta were appointed commissioners to act with similar commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church to adjust

and settle all matters pertaining to the division of the Church property on the basis of the Plan of Separation.



UNION STREET CHURCH, PETERSBURG, VA.

In which the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was held.

A communication was received from Messrs. Lane and

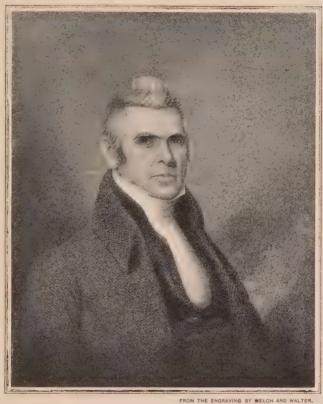
Tippett, agents of the Methodist Book Concern at New York, dated New York, May 2, 1846, and having reference to the payment of the annual dividends from the Book Concern to the Annual Conferences. The letter recited that the Book Committee had met on March 26, and had considered certain questions propounded by the book agents:

- 1. Whether the Book Committee would advise them to pay the annual dividends to the Conferences within the bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, up to the next session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848?
- 2. If the dividends are not paid, whether they would advise the agents to retain in their hands a sum equal to the portion of those Conferences, subject to the disposal of said General Conference?
- 3. Whether they would advise the agents to pay the table expenses of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, up to the time of the said General Conference of 1848?

The agents reported that the Book Committee had given a negative answer to the first and third questions, and an affirmative to the second, and that they had concluded to act in conformity with the advice of the Book Committee. The Finance Committee appointed by the Church South, in reply to Lane and Tippett, said, "It is merely assumed that the Annual Conferences did by their votes virtually annul the vote of the General Conference changing the restrictive article." The declaration was also made that no official returns had been published, "nor are we aware that any such official returns exist; and if they exist, that correctly understood or understood as interpreted by the Conferences giving them, they would justify your decisions; we may therefore safely regard your assumption that the Annual Conferences

Reports

annulled the decision of the General Conference as resting upon a very vague and indefinite construction of the votes of the several Annual Conferences, and withholding our money under such circumstances as a measure of extremely ques-



JOHN EARLY.

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

tionable propriety." The Finance Committee also referred to the sixth resolution of the Plan of Separation, "Until the payments are made the Southern Church shall share in all the net profits of the Book Concern."

At this same General Conference—Petersburg—the Rev.

John Early was authorized to act as the agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to hold in trust for said Church all property and funds of every description which might be passed over to him by the agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Lovick Pierce was appointed delegate to visit the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be held in Pittsburg on May I, 1848, to tender to that body the Christian regards and fraternal salutations of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

On August 25, 1846, the commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, addressed a letter to the commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church—Nathan Bangs, George Peck, and J. B. Finley—requesting a joint meeting, but the latter replied that they had no authority to act, inasmuch as they had never been officially notified that the requisite number of votes had been secured to change the restrictive rule relating to the Book Concern property.

Dr. Lovick Pierce visited the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Pittsburg in 1848, and presented his credentials as the fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at the same time addressing to the Conference a note that he came to convey the Christian salutations of the Church South, and to assure the delegates that it sincerely desired that the two great Wesleyan bodies should ever maintain a fraternal relation to each other; and that he earnestly desired that they, on their part, would accept the offer in the same spirit of brotherly love and kindness. Dr. Pierce received the following reply: "Whereas there are serious questions and difficulties existing between the two bodies; therefore, Resolved, that while we tender to Rev. Dr. Pierce all personal courtesies, and invite him to attend our sessions, this General Conference does not

consider it proper at present to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." Dr. Pierce replied that he could enter within the "bar of the Conference" only in his official capacity. He furthermore declared:



FROM PRUD'HOMME'S ENGRAVING AFTER WIGHTMAN'S PAINTING.

LOVICK PIERCE, M.D.

The first fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the Methodist Episcopal Church,

"You will therefore regard this communication as final on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States. But the proposition can be renewed at any time, either now or hereafter, by the Methodist Episcopal Church. And if ever made upon the basis of the Plan of Separation, as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church South will cordially entertain the proposition."

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, because the requisite vote on the change of the restrictive rule had not been obtained from the Annual Conferences, claimed that the Plan of Separation was null and void; that the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was therefore not to be recognized as legitimate, and that the proposed division of the property and funds of the Book Concern could not lawfully be made.

The Southern commissioners—W. A. Smith (instead of H. B. Bascom, deceased), Green, and Parsons—on hearing the decision, proceeded to test the legality of their claims, the constitutionality of the Plan of Separation, and the legitimacy of their organization by appealing to the judgment of the secular courts. The counsel for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were Daniel Low, Reverdy Johnson, and Reverdy Johnson, Jr., and for the defendants Rufus Choate, George Wood, and Enoch L. Fancher. Bills drawn up by Judge J. S. Brien, of Tennessee, in conference with Hon. Daniel Webster, were filed in the appropriate courts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The suit brought in the United States Circuit Court of New York came to a hearing on May, 1851, before Judges Nelson and Betts, and was decided in favor of the Church South. Before the decree of the court was published the judges signified a wish that the parties agree to a settlement by arbitration. The defendants, however, refused to agree to arbitration unless the Church South would agree to arbi-

trate their "legal right to any portion of the property." The Church South would not agree to this.

The court's decision was rendered by Judge Nelson on November 11, 1851, in favor of the plaintiffs on every material point in the dispute. A decree was entered directing that an account of property be made, and a report be made



RESIDENCE OF DR. LOVICK PIERCE, GREENSBORO, GA.

of the amount due the plaintiffs on the principles stated in the decree. The case in Ohio was heard before Judge Leavitt, associate judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Ohio, and was decided in favor of the defendants. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. On April 24, 1854, the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision of the Ohio court, and declared its opinion that the Plan of Separation should be "enforced in all its provisions and particulars." After reciting the history of the case and the preliminary action of the Southern Conferences in forming a separate organization, the court declared: "The division of the Church, as originally constituted, thus became complete; and from this time two separate and dis-

tinct organizations have taken the place of the one previously existing." Referring to the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, it said: "We do not agree that this division was made without the proper authority. On the contrary, we entertain no doubt but that the General Conference of 1844 was competent to make it; that each division of the Church, under the separate organization, is just as legitimate and can claim as high a sanction, ecclesiastical and temporal, as the Methodist Episcopal Church first founded in the United States. The authority which founded that Church in 1784 has divided it, and established two separate and independent organizations occupying the place of the old one." In replication to the plea "that the division of the Church according to the Plan of Separation was made to depend not only upon the determination of the Southern Annual Conferences, but also upon the consent of the Annual Conferences North, as well as South, to a change of the sixth restrictive article; and as this was refused, the division which took place was unauthorized," the court declared: "This is a misapprehension. The change of this article was not made a condition of the division. That depended alone upon the decision of the Southern Conferences. . . . The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having thus taken place in pursuance of the proper authority, it carried with it, as a matter of law, a division of the common property belonging to the ecclesiastical organization, and especially of the property in this Book Concern which belonged to the traveling preachers." It finally declared: "The complainants are entitled to their share of this Book Concern; and the proper decree will be entered to carry this decision into effect."

Meanwhile Dr. Parsons, who had been chosen to fill the

vacancy on the commission caused by the resignation of S. A. Latta, visited the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1852 and presented an official communication in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, declaring that they stood ready to duplicate any peaceable measure the Methodist Episcopal Church "might think proper to adopt which would secure to them their rights." This visit was after the decision of the New York court, but before the decree of the United States Supreme Court.

The Southern commissioners in their report to their own General Conference said in regard to Dr. Parsons's visit: "His personal intercourse with leading members of the body no doubt contributed greatly to correct an erroneous impression as to our opinions and wishes in regard to the manner of the proposed settlement, and perhaps influenced the policy which obtained favor, to place the management of this great interest in the hands of those known to be favorable to measures of peace." The master appointed by the New York court to make the distribution of the property was slow in pushing the work, and it was in order to facilitate and expedite a settlement that Judge McLean, who, though a member of the Supreme Court of the United States, being a Methodist, had taken no part in the judicial proceedings, offered his services to the joint commission. His counsels and personal influence assisted greatly in bringing about a satisfactory settlement.

Bishop McTyeire says that "Southern Methodists were less concerned for the pecuniary outcome of this painful lawsuit than for its judicial and moral vindication before the whole world."

The Southern commissioners reporting to their General Conference made use of the following language, which speaks

well for both parties concerned: "We would not do justice to our feelings if we forbore to express our great satisfaction with the Christian courtesy and kindness which marked the intercourse of the Northern commissioners and agents in negotiating a settlement of the New York controversy. They met us on the platform of candor, liberality, and strict justice, and we are happy to say that our long-contested differences were readily adjusted; . . . nor was there a feeling or a word, so far as we can judge, which in the dying hour either party would wish to blot from the pages of memory." In the same manner the other controversies were settled.

The proceeds of these suits amounted in all to \$414,121.67. (1) In money (principal and interest), \$293,334.50. (2) Money from the Chartered Fund, \$17,712.05. (3) In accounts due by individuals in the South, \$53,575.12. (4) In accounts against Richmond and Nashville Advocates, \$9,500. (5) In book stock, valued at \$20,000. (6) In presses, fixtures, etc., in the South, \$20,000.

After eliminating from the list of assets most of the individual accounts, notes, and the like, which were of little value, and the accounts against the Advocates, the presses, and printing material turned over at Richmond and Charleston, which could not be made available as capital for conducting the business, there remained in cash and interest-bearing bonds given by the Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and book stock, the sum of \$331,073.

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